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## THE BLESSING OF THE FIRE IN JERUSALEM

THE Orthodox "Miracle of the Holy Fire" on Holy Saturday in Jerusalem is well-known. The existence, however, of a blessing of the fire on that day by the Melkites in the Holy City seems to have escaped notice. The following service is translated from the Jerusalem edition of the *euchologion* (1865), pp. 300 ff. Whether it is a rendering into Arabic of the office used by the Orthodox in the basilica of the Holy Sepulchre is not stated.

The ceremony in its origin possibly was nothing more than the lighting of the lamps performed daily before the evening office but invested with peculiar solemnity in view of the Paschal festival. The *Peregrinatio Etheriae* or *Silviae* describing the daily Vespers or *Lychnikon* in Jerusalem towards the end of the fourth century says: "Hora autem decima (quod appellant hic licinicon, nam nos dicimus lucernare) similiter se omnis multitudo colliget ad Anastasim, incenduntur omnes candelae et cerei, et fit lumen infinitum. Lumen autem de foris non affertur, sed de spelunca interiori [the Sepulchre] eicitur, id est de intro cancellos."

In the West in the third century Hippolytus in connection with the supper of the congregation lays down that "when the evening has come, the bishop being there, the deacon shall bring in a lamp" and provides a eucharistic prayer for its blessing (Connolly, *The so-called Egyptian Church Order*, p. 188). Later on, Prudentius wrote hymns for daily use "ad incensum lucernae," that is for the lighting of the lamp before *Lucernare* or *Vespers* (Migne, *Patr. Lat.*, LXXII, 197). If the ceremony of the Paschal Candle is a solemn form of this prayer, the development in the West is parallel to that in Jerusalem. The "incensi huius sacrificium vesp-

tinum" of the Roman blessing, of course, referred not to any incense but to the "lighted" candle.

H. W. CODRINGTON.

**ORDER OF THE HALLOWING OF THE FIRE ON THE DAY OF THE GREAT HOLY SATURDAY.**

*After sounding the semantron and the prayer of the hours the priests change entirely into a complete set of red vestments. Then they stand erect opposite the holy table with candles unlighted in their hands, and the pure table is censed, and they go forth in procession, the holy cross before them all without lanterns, and after the censing of the church the censer is handed to the servant and the fire is cast forth outside the church. And we sing these idiomela and we [do so] in the procession on the sixth tone:—*

O Christ, unto thee was the victory over hell. For to-day it groaneth crying: Verily it had been best for me if he who was born of Mary had not been received [by me]. For when he drew nigh to me he loosed my power speedily and he ground to powder my gates of brass, and the souls which were beneath my dominion verily he raised them up forthwith, inasmuch as he is God. Glory to thy cross, O Lord, and thy resurrection.

*On the eighth: To-day hell groaneth crying: Verily he shrivelled up my dominion, for I received [him] dying as one of the dying and I was not able to hold him at all, but he freed with himself the dead who were under my dominion since the world began. For this is he, the God who raiseth up all. Glory to thy cross, O Lord, and thy resurrection.*

*Another on the eighth: To-day hell groaneth crying: Verily my power is swallowed up, for the Shepherd when he was crucified caused Adam to rise, and I who was having sway over him verily was deprived of him; and every one of those whom I swallowed up in my power did I spit forth; for he who was crucified emptied the sepulchres, and the might of death came to nought. Glory to thy cross, O Lord, and thy resurrection.*

*Then after the completion of the procession the president stands before the holy pure table and says aloud:*

Blessed art thou, O Christ our God, in the holy temple of thy glory always now and for ever and for ages of ages. Amen.

*And the deacon cries aloud the synapse:*

In peace let us beseech the Lord.

For the peace which is on high, etc.

For the peace of the whole world, etc.

For this holy house, etc.

## The Blessing of the Fire in Jerusalem 61

For our pontiff N., etc.

For our kings, etc.

That the Lord help them, etc.

For this holy place, etc.

For the temperate state of the air, etc.

For those travelling on the sea, etc.

That the Lord our God enlighten our souls and our bodies by the lamp of his grace, our Lord Jesus Christ, who is the true light, let us beseech the Lord.

That we be delivered from all sorrow and chastisement, etc.

Help and save and have mercy, etc.

The all-holy, etc.

*Aloud:* For thee befitteh all glory, etc.

*Then the president prays over the lamp (qandil) which is lighted behind the table only, saying aloud the prayer:* Let us beseech the Lord.

O Lord Jesus Christ our God, fountain of life and destroyer of death, who art alone the light of all man and their life, O light eternal born of light eternal, light invisible and incomprehensible, immutable and unchanging, light immaterial, light true and dwelling in light unapproachable, light of the Father's glory and his brilliance, light of the heavenly ranks [of angels], which enlighteneth every man that cometh into the world: thou, O Saviour, didst give the law to the first man endowed with the light to guide him and direct him to the new world [to come] and inspire him with a desire for the light of life eternal. But he indeed transgressed thy commandment and fell from that great glory which was in him and slew himself by his transgression and became banished from thee, O glorious light. But thou, O Lord lover of mankind, by thy death and the greatness of thy loving-kindness and thy boundless compassion didst condescend to the lowliness of us vile sinners that thou mightest bring us back to that glory from which we fell and the first light, and indeed thou wast content to abide in the tomb on behalf of us who disobeyed thy divine commandments and didst go down to hell and didst descend to the depths of the earth and didst break the ancient gates and didst deliver those who were sitting in the darkness of death and didst lift them up and didst give light to the race of us men by thy resurrection on the third day and didst grant freely to the world the new life and didst illumine all more brightly than the sun and didst restore our nature to its first dignity and to the glorious light from which thou didst banish [us]. Now, O Lord God and our Saviour Jesus Christ, enlighten our minds and our eyes of mind and body, which indeed were blind from the excesses of this world, and

illumine them as thou gavest light to the eyes of the holy Maries and the chaste women who came to thy sepulchre with spices to anoint thy most holy life-giving body. Do thou, whilst gladdening our hearts and making them to rejoice in the safety and peace and joy that is from thee and verily lifting us up and making us to rise from the abyss of sin, and freeing us from the darkness of iniquity, make us worthy by thine abundant mercy to light our lamps from the radiance of this day which is the sign of thy glorious resurrection, most resplendent with all beauty ; and grant freely in thine holy universal apostolic Church this perfect light and make us thy sinful servants to cause the spiritual lamps of our souls to shine with the light of thy divine commandments and to do thine holy will all the days of our life ; so that we may meet thee in company with the wise virgins on the day of the dread resurrection pure without blemish and may enter with thee, O king of glory, with lamps burning brightly into thine heavenly abode and enjoy the radiant light of thy Godhead, one and threefold [in person], and send up to thee the glory, O Father and Son and Holy Ghost, etc.

*Then the president lifts his hand blessing the flame of the lamp (qandil) and lights from it the candle which is in his hand, and he turns standing erect opposite to the holy table making the sign of the cross and saying aloud :*

In upright wisdom<sup>1</sup> the light of Christ hath enlightened all.

*Then he turns round towards the people and says aloud :*

Blessed is the Father and the Son and the Holy Ghost who enlighteneth our souls and halloweth them always now and ever and for ages of ages.

*Then all the clergy light the candles which are in their hands from the candle of the president and they say : Be illumined, be illumined, O Jerusalem the new in its entirety, and thus they go out in procession inside the church and the people light the candles from the chief (priest) and the rest of the clergy, and we sing psalm 147 : Extol the Lord, O Jerusalem in its entirety once, and psalm 150 : Praise God in his saints, etc., and when we return to the sanctuary the president turns to the people saying aloud :*

Blessed be God who enlighteneth every man that cometh into the world at all times now and ever and for ages of ages.

*Then at once begins the service of the dread Liturgy which is of the holy Basil the Great with all the pomp of the ceremony together with the Lychnikon.*

Know that this order which precedes is thus carried out in the Church of Jerusalem and no other of the great Churches.

<sup>1</sup> This translates σοφία ὑπότοι

# THE BYZANTINE LITURGY

## THE COMPLETE EUCHARISTIC LITURGY.

**I**N the description of the liturgy which follows, no distinction is made between the formularies of St. Basil and St. John Chrysostom, since both have the same liturgical pattern. At the present time, the liturgy of St. Basil is rarely used, in fact ten times in the year.

The liturgy falls into three divisions :

1. Preparation.
2. Liturgy of the Catechumens.
3. Liturgy of the Faithful.

It should be noted that the account given is of the liturgy in use at the present time, with indications of the modifications which have at various times been introduced, or which are used in a particular branch of the Byzantine rite.

### 1. PREPARATION OF THE LITURGY.

This has regard to :

1. The celebrants.
2. The matter of the sacrifice.

1. The preparation of the ministers may be considered as a preparation of the soul and of the body—that is to say, it includes ;

- (a) the prayers of preparation.
- (b) the putting on of the vestments proper to each of the ministers.

At the present time these two rites are wholly separate. The priest and his deacon, for only rarely in the Byzantine rite does a priest celebrate alone, or if there be concelebration by several priests, all the concelebrants, or the bishop and his concelebrant clergy (priests and deacons) in the case of a pontifical liturgy, come before the eikonostasis and there recite the fixed prayers, as also in front of the two principal eikons, namely those of Christ and the Theotokos. Then they enter

#### NOTES.

The following references are used :—

DACL — Dom P. de Meester—*Liturgies Grecques* in the Dictionnaire d'Archéologie Chrétienne et de Liturgie, Vol. 6, 2, col. 1591—1662.  
CHR — Articles by various authors on the Byzantine liturgy in "Chrysostomika"—Studie e Ricerche intorno a S.Giovanni Chrisostomo per il 15° centenario della sua morte 407—1907. Rome 1908, pp. 245—972.  
BR — F. E. Brightman.—*Liturgies Eastern and Western*. Oxford, 1896.  
GEN — Dom. P. de Meester—*Genèse, sources et développements du texte grecque de la liturgie de S. Jean Chrysostome*—Extrait des Chrysostomika. Rome, 1908.

into the sanctuary to put on the sacred vestments, except the bishop, who may vest either in the sanctuary or outside it.

Formerly the two rites were performed together, the prayers being at the minister's choice and the prayer which is now recited in front of the eikonostasis was used during the vesting of the priest (GEN 56 et seq.). When they have put on their vestments, the priest and the deacon raise their hands and begin the ceremonies of the preparation of the oblation.

It should be noted that in the Byzantine rite it is rare for a complete liturgy to be celebrated without being preceded by a part of the canonical office : the office of the dawn which corresponds to Matins and Lauds of the Roman rite or else the hours of terce or sext. In the liturgies proper to the great vigils of the year or the fast days of Lent, Vespers are an integral part of the Liturgy whether complete or in the incomplete form of the Presanctified gifts.

#### THE PREPARATION OF THE OBLATION.

The Preparation of the Oblation, known as the Prothesis, leads to the consideration of several points :

1. In early times, that is to say up to the seventh or even the eighth century, the matter of the sacrifice, the bread especially and the wine, was brought by the Faithful themselves. The offering was the actual commencement of the eucharistic action at which they alone could be present—so that it was necessary to wait until the catechumens, the penitents and the other “unworthy” had been dismissed, and the church doors closed, before proceeding to the offering of the oblation (GEN 60–61).

2. The Offertory formerly coincided with the Great Entrance (to be dealt with later)—and of this ancient usage we still retain one trace, namely in a pontifical liturgy : in this the bishop makes at the Prothesis the commemoration of the living and the dead, with the prayers that follow, at the Great Entrance itself, which marks the true beginning of the sacrificial act of the New Dispensation.

3. As the laity were forbidden to enter the Sanctuary the offerings were made at the doors of the chancel, where the deacons received them and placed them on a small table (paratrapezon), at the side of the high altar.

4. At a later date, and for some considerable time, the preparation of the oblation was made in the place where the sacred vessels and ornaments were kept, known as the scevophylakion, that is to say the place that corresponds to the diakonikon (GEN 63–4). In order to prevent confusion, the place of the offertory, or Prothesis, was eventually trans-

## THE VESTMENTS OF THE PRIEST AND DEACON



The *sticharion* corresponds to the Latin Alb. The priest's sticharion has narrow sleeves whilst that of the deacon is wider and is elaborately trimmed like the Latin tunicle.

The *epimanika*: these are cuffs to serve to tighten the ends of the sleeves of the sticharion round the wrists.

The *epitrachelion* is the priest's stole and is made of a long strip of silk, but the two ends are fastened together in front leaving a loop through which to pass the neck.

The *orarion* is the deacon's stole which he wears over the left shoulder, hanging down back and front. Sometimes the longer part in front is passed under the right arm and falls over the left shoulder. When performing his functions the deacon always holds up the end of his orarion with three fingers of his right hand.

The *girdle*.

The *phelonion* corresponds to the Latin chasuble, but is a full vestment covering the whole body. During the liturgy he holds it up over his arms, unless the rubrics prescribe that it should be left to fall over them. Those of the Russian pattern are cut away in front.

The *hypogonation* is a relic of the apron formerly worn over the tunic to keep it clean. It is now a lozenge of some stiff stuff with a cross or image embroidered on it. It is worn only by bishops, archimandrites, and archpriests.

The *kamelavkion*, now shaped like a top hat with a brim on top (except those used by the Russians), was formerly just a cap of felt or soft material such as monks still wear: monks also wear a veil over the kamelavkion at church services.

*Illustrations by courtesy of Amay Priory (Russian types).*

ferred to its pendent in the other apsidal, or at least to the other side of the central altar.

5. The deacons had not only to receive the offerings from the hands of the Faithful, but also to prepare them. The loaves were placed on one or several dishes (*diskos*), and the wine mixed with water was poured into one or several chalices (*ibid.*, 63-4).

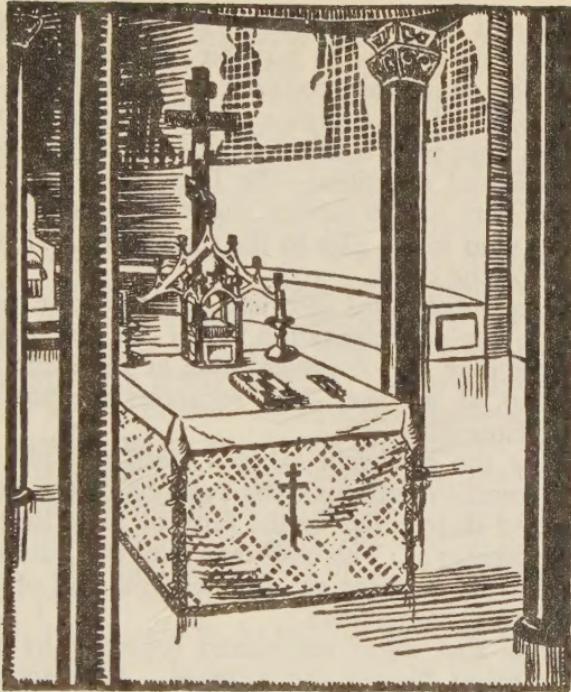
6. Few words, or none at all, accompanied these ceremonies. The celebrant recited over the offerings a prayer of oblation, which can be found in our two chief Byzantine formularies at the two actual places I have cited, namely the end of the Prothesis and after the Great Entrance.

7. Little by little, between the tenth and fifteenth centuries the rite of the Prothesis was developed and modified, not in its substance but in its forms and ceremonies. No longer was one or several whole loaves consecrated, but first of all a single portion which, in its name "amnos," the lamb, symbolises Christ himself, and then other pieces which represent the different purposes of the sacrifice : the sacrifice of praise is represented by portions cut out by means of a knife symbolising the lance, in honour of the saints (formerly one only for all the saints, later separate individual portions) : the sacrifice of propitiation with separate portions of the dead and the living : and furthermore, the priest now takes the place of the deacon. The words accompanying the incisions have increased—and in place of the one veil covering the oblation, was introduced the asterisk and the three veils (GEN 65-7—P. Marco Nandata : *La Protesi della liturgia nel rito bizantino greco*. Grotaferrata 1935, 107-99). Eventually there develops the rite which forms the subject of our study.

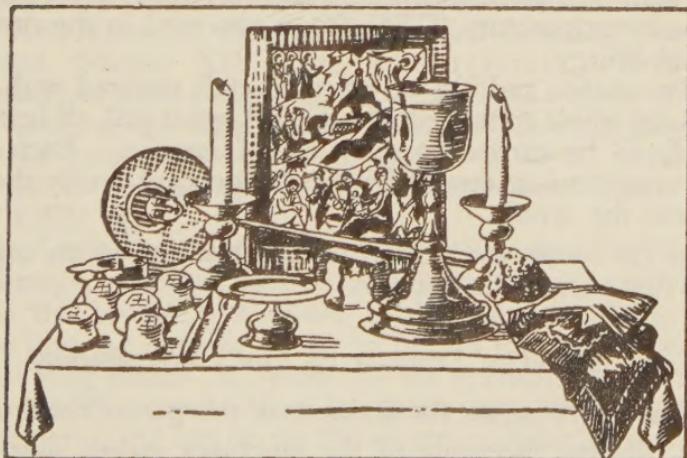
Nowadays the Preparation of the Oblation comprises three parts :

1. The preparation of the bread, and the preparation and mixing of the wine.
2. The covering of the oblation.
3. The prayer of the offertory.

1. The celebrant, wearing the phelonion folded up at the back, takes in one hand the loaf (called the *prophora*) and in the other the lance. Reciting the words of Isaias on the sacrifice of the Messias (ch. liii, 7, 8) he makes incisions in the form of a square in the first *prophora*—this separates the lamb which is marked on the reverse—with the lance. Then he cuts a triangle in honour of the most holy Mother of God and places it on the left side of the Lamb, then nine portions ranged three by three on the right side, and lastly as many portions as the celebrant desires for the commemoration of



An altar on which is seen the Book of the Gospels, known as the Evangelion, candlesticks and the Artophorion known in the West as the tabernacle. Behind can be seen a cross and candlestick with seven candles (Russian types).



A Prothesis on which is seen a chalice, the disk with asterick, the holy lance and spoon, the sponge and candlesticks, veils, one fan and the prosphora (Russian types).

*Illustrations by courtesy of Amay Priory.*

the living and dead for whom he wishes to pray. Many priests only consecrate the portion of the Lamb, who alone was sacrificed, since they consider that the others only represent the object of the sacrifice, as the persons who in union with the sacrifice pray with us and for us, or who by its virtue are cleansed and sanctified—the living and the dead. It is moving to note in the rubrics that the priest commemorates the bishop who raised him to the priesthood, whether among the living or the dead.

The deacon makes his commemorations after the celebrant, or if there be concelebration, after all the concelebrants. These latter may also commemorate at the same time as the bishop, who, as we have said, separates the portions before the Great Entrance.

Generally the celebrant takes a fresh prosphora for each group of commemorations—the remains of the bread are cut in pieces and distributed to the faithful as antidoron (see the end of the liturgy). The celebrant fixes the size of the Lamb according to the number of concelebrants and of the Faithful who wish to communicate.

The wine and water are mixed together by the deacon, while the priest blesses the mixture. This act follows the symbolic ceremony of the immolation of the Lamb, recalling the words of St. John's gospel (xix, 34-5).

2. Then the oblation is covered again. Above the paten is placed the asterisk, whose symbolic reference to the miraculous star of Bethlehem is expressed in words that accompany the act. The asterisk, which is known to have been used since the eleventh century (GEN, 66), is also used in the rite of the papal liturgy.

The diskos and chalice are then each covered with a veil, and the whole concealed with a third, great veil, all being now ready to be carried to the altar of sacrifice. Each of the coverings is first censed by the deacon, and finally the priest censes the whole.

3. He recites the prayer of the oblation, which concludes the first part of the liturgy.

## II.—THE LITURGY OF THE CATECHUMENS.

The following are the divisions of this part of the liturgy :

1. Solemn incensing of the sanctuary, naves, narthex and gynaeceum. This ceremony is performed in each of the great offices of the liturgical day—Vespers, Matins (the dawn office) and Mass. It serves to purify, to sanctify and to make peaceful the ground on which the sacred rites will be performed.

2. The singing of the antiphons and reading of the collects. This is a late addition and forms as it were a preface to the Liturgy of the Catechumens. Up to the seventh century we find no trace of it (BR appendices MNOP), and it is borrowed from an ancient office—sometimes the antiphons and prayers which accompany it may even be suppressed (GEN, 74-5). The Byzantine rite gives the name of “antiphon” to psalms whose verses are accompanied by a sort of repeated refrain (*antiphonein*) ; these psalms, which were formerly recited in their entirety, are now usually shortened to a few verses and introduce the element of praise into the liturgical prayer. To these psalms were always attached prayers, composed of a collect recited by the deacon with proper responses from the people, and a secret prayer said by the priest in the sanctuary—thus all join according to their proper function to offer in fitting words the prayer of the Byzantine church : the priest is in the sanctuary before the altar, the faithful fill the body of the church, and the deacon lifts up his hands between the priest and the people, and it is he who gathers up the petitions of the faithful in the collects, to present them to the celebrant, who in his turn and secretly, offers them in the sanctuary to God Almighty. These collects, which are called litanies or petitions, or *eirenika* (for the first supplications are always for peace) are made up of petitions for the ecclesiastical and civil rulers, and for the faithful, each according to their needs, or for the obtaining of spiritual good for all without distinction—it is believed that this form of prayer originated in Antioch in the fourth century and came to Constantinople by way of Asia Minor (E. Bishop, *The liturgical homilies of Narsai*, Texts and Studies XII, 1911, App. 117-121). Between the second and third antiphons, the choir chant a hymn to the Son of God, of the deepest inspiration, which according to some was composed by the Emperor Justinian between 535-6, but it may be that he merely introduced it into the liturgy (GEN 79).

3. The Little Entrance. This is the ancient true beginning of the liturgy. Manuscripts of the fifth to seventh centuries shew us the bishop surrounded by his clergy, making his entrance into the church. First he blesses the people, while the choir sing psalms or hymns (in the seventh century this will be the *Trisagion*)—then he enters into the sanctuary (*vima* or *bema*) and sits on the throne set up under the apsidal, the priests and deacons standing to right and left. The Reader begins the readings from the Old and New Testaments, which are followed by a homily or spoken commentary on the scriptural texts. (BR 518-535—DACL col. 1640-1, 1663).

This old rite is commemorated firstly in the pontifical

liturgy, in which it is at this point that the bishop surrounded by his concelebrants enters solemnly into the sanctuary where he will remain until the end of the liturgy; and further in the ceremony of the Little Entrance, but in this case there has been an addition to the original significance of the ceremony, in the carrying of the Gospel by the deacon, accompanied by a blessing of the entrance (*isodos*) by the celebrant, and incensings.

If, as the commentators of the liturgy tell us, the preceding singing of psalms interwoven with prayers symbolises the Old Testament and the prophecies of the Messias, then the book of the Gospels which portray Christ is the symbol of the beginning of His public life. The ceremony ends with the choir's singing the troparia, or short hymns commemorating the mystery or saint of the day or the patron of the church: in the pontifical rite the bishop sings the principal parts of these during the incensing of the altar.

4. Trisagion—this is the threefold cry of "holy," repeated several times, and used at any rate in Antioch since the middle of the fifth century. It is accompanied by a prayer recited secretly by the celebrant and was at one time preceded by a collect (GEN 86). In the midst of these ejaculations always thrice repeated in honour of the Most Holy Trinity, if a bishop is celebrating he here blesses the people three times with the *dikerotrikera*,<sup>1</sup> still symbolically confessing the Trinity and God made man: in this case there are also added memorials of the heads of the Church, Pope, Patriarch, Bishop, with prayers for their long life (*polla ta*, etc.).

5. The Readings—nowadays these comprise usually only two, being portions of an Epistle and a Gospel, contained in different books (*Apostolos* and *Evangelion*). The reading from the Apostle is accompanied by verses called *Prokeimena*, followed by alleluias, corresponding to the Roman Gradual. During the alleluias the altar and people are incensed, as though to prepare them for the singing of the Gospel by the deacon. The reading is given from the Ambo, after which the celebrant kisses the Gospel and the bishop blesses the people with the *Trikerion*.

6. The *Ektenes*—this is composed of a litany for all the needs of the Christian community, which is of great age and importance. St. Justin called it the common prayer (DACL, 1617) but it is also called the Catholic or Universal prayer.

<sup>1</sup> By *dikerotrikera* is meant a double candelabrum, one of two branches (*dikerion*) representing the two natures, in Jesus Christ, the other of three branches (*trikerion*) representing the three Persons in the Blessed Trinity.—(EDITOR).

Doubtless a prayer of this nature was at some date also recited in the Roman Mass after the Oremus which precedes the Offertory, but which is now not followed by any prayer save in the Ambrosian liturgy, which is older than the Roman.

7. Prayers for the Catechumens. These used to be longer and extended to the Baptizandi, those who would be baptised on Easter Eve (this for several weeks before), and also to the Penitents (GEN, 86). After this all the uninitiated were dismissed and the doors of the church shut after them.

DOM PLACID DE MEESTER.

(*To be continued*).

## THE ASCETIC AND THEOLOGICAL TEACHING OF GREGORY PALAMAS

### THE ASCETICO GNOSEOLOGICAL BASIS OF THE DOCTRINE OF GREGORY PALAMAS.

(*continued*).

FURTHER we must note, in connection with his doctrine on man, the rôle which Gregory assigns to the heart\* in the spiritual and intellectual life. He looks on it as the centre of man's spiritual life, as the organ by means of which the mind controls the body and even as the source and sustainer of man's intellectual activity:<sup>1</sup> "we know for certain that the heart is the organ of thought; we have learned this not from man but from the Creator of man who says in the Gospel: 'out of the heart proceed thoughts'; therefore the heart is the 'treasury of thought'<sup>2</sup> and is, at the same time, the centre of the body.<sup>3</sup>

\*In order the better to understand the rôle which Gregory assigns to the heart we will quote from Mr. Mingana's preface to *The Mystical Works of Simon of Taibutheh* (Woodbrooke Studies, Vol. VII, Cambridge, 1934).

"The heart was credited with possessing more importance than we are disposed to give to it in our days. . . . In the mental and ethical spheres the heart was given as the seat of the mind and of the discernment, and was credited with receiving 'all the good and evil which the senses collect from outside': it was believed that the heart was 'not able to disregard what it had received, but passed it to the mind and to the thoughts to feed on, because the natural mind is the spring of the heart.' The author (*i.e.* Simon) states also in this connection that the heart 'stamps the thoughts and the passions that come to it with comprehension, as with its own seals, either for good or for evil.' This is the reason why the heart had to be guarded with great care: 'It is from it that emanate life and death, according to the sentence of Our Lord: *Out of the heart proceed evil thoughts . . . which defile a man.*' This guard that had to be kept over the heart is discussed fully by the Greek mystics, and is called by them 'Guard of the heart' (*φυλακὴ καρδίας*) or 'Guard of the spirit' (*φυλακὴ νοός*), as the heart and the spirit were interchangeable with them."

Simon of Taibutheh died about A.D. 680.—(EDITOR).

The teaching that man is a God-like being and manifests the divine likeness in his whole psycho-physical personality, that he is a kind of microcosm, explains how a real communion is possible between our being and God and how a deeper knowledge of Him may be attained than that which comes through intellectual activity alone or through the study of the outward world. In fact, basing himself on this idea of the divine likeness in man, Gregory affirms that man may reach communion with God firstly through keeping His commandments; by doing this he restores and reveals the divine image which is contained in him and which has been obscured by sin, and thereby approaches union with God and knowledge of Him in the measure accessible to him, a creature. This path (of keeping the commandments) must be followed by all and can be described in short as the love of God and of our neighbour. The idea that the commandments have universal validity and are binding on all men is at the basis of the whole of Gregory's ascetic teaching (he even wrote a commentary on the Ten Commandments);<sup>4</sup> supposing it to be self-evident, he often omits to state it expressly in this or that part of his teaching on the ways of the inner life. But in his interpretation of the commandments and of the manner of keeping them, Gregory, like all the most profound thinkers of the Orthodox Church, gives primary importance not to the outward doing nor even to the acquiring of this or that virtue, but to inward purification from passions. To reach this purity of heart we must set our feet in the way of repentance and humility by which is shewn our loathing of sin and our love of the Lord who has loved us: "Let us put on the works of penance, meek thoughts, humility and spiritual sorrow, a gentle heart full of mercy, loving truth and seeking after purity . . . for the kingdom of God, nay, rather, the King of Heaven . . . is within us and we must cling to Him by works of penance, loving as much as we are able Him who has loved us so much."<sup>5</sup>

Yet a stronger means of inward purification as well as a more vivid expression of our love of God and of our neighbour is to be found, according to Gregory, in prayer (joined, of course, to the rest of man's inward activity, and, in general, with his whole life). For him prayer is higher than the practice of particular virtues. Recognising that union with God is reached either through communion in virtue<sup>6</sup> or through communion in prayer,<sup>7</sup> Gregory gives more importance to prayer and affirms that only by its power can the creature be really united with the Creator. He says: "Prayer offers (this union) . . . being the link between the rational creature and God"<sup>8</sup> Further on Gregory, like Dionysius the Areo-

pagite, speaks of a triune operation of the mind whereby it ascends to God. He writes in the same treatise on prayer : " When the one of the mind becomes three while remaining one, then (the mind) communes with the Triune Godhead."<sup>9</sup> This triune action consists in this ; that the mind, which usually contemplates exterior objects (1st operation), returns into itself (2nd operation) and ascends to God through prayer (3rd operation). " The one of the mind becomes three while remaining one when the mind returns into itself and thence ascends to God."<sup>10</sup> These two operations are also called " rolling up " (as of a scroll) συνελεξιν, and " stretching upwards "<sup>11</sup> with the explanation that the turning of the mind to itself is its preservation . . . while its ascent to God is achieved through prayer."<sup>12</sup> Being in this state the human mind " attains the unuttered " and " tastes of the world to come."<sup>13</sup> But we must not give too much importance to the enlightenment which is attained by us at the beginning as, in so far as this is not accompanied by the complete purification of the soul, it may be deceptive. We must limit ourselves at the beginning of the ascetic life to the vision of our own sinfulness of heart which is revealed to us in this enlightenment of the mind. But the complete purification of the human being can come about only when each of the powers of the soul has received its corresponding spiritual remedy. Thus " only by purifying his active (power) by works, his cognitive (power) by knowledge and his contemplative (power) by prayer"<sup>14</sup> can man attain the purity which is necessary for the knowledge of God. " It can never be achieved by anyone except through perfection in works, through perseverance (in the ascetic way), through contemplation and contemplative prayer."<sup>15</sup> We must know also that it is necessary and spiritually fruitful for the mind not only to attain to this triune operation but also to remain and persevere for a long time in this activity which produces a certain " intellectual sense " (*αἰσθητις νοερά*).<sup>16</sup> At the same time Gregory insists that it is necessary always to keep the mind within the limits of the body. In support of this ascetic rule he quotes the well-known saying of St. John Climacus : " The silent is he who seeks to maintain that which is incorporeal (the mind) within the corporeal limits."<sup>17</sup> Like him he sees in this remaining of the mind within the body the essential mark of the true hesychast. On the other hand the mind's remaining without the body appears to him as the cause of every kind of illusion. " The sending of the mind out of the body that it may seek intellectual visions without, is the greatest of Hellenistic illusions and the root and source of every wrong thinking."<sup>18</sup> Gregory foresees that his teaching on the retaining of the mind within the body and

even the "sending" it thither may be opposed on the grounds of the needlessness or even the impossibility of such a task, because the mind, being by its nature united with the soul, which dwells within the body, is there already without any co-operation of our will. But Gregory explains that there is here a confusion between the substance of the mind and its activity.<sup>19</sup> By its essence the mind is, of course, joined to the body, but the task of the hesychast is also to direct its activity thither.

But this kind of guarding of the mind through prayer needs great effort, concentration and labour. Gregory writes : "the exercise of any other virtue is light and very easy in comparison with this."<sup>20</sup> We see how mistaken are those who see in the mental prayer of the hesychasts an attempt to find an easy way to salvation, to evade the practice of the virtues and, so to speak "cheaply and mechanically" reach a state of "mystical enthusiasm."<sup>21</sup> In reality there can be no question of an easy way, and mental prayer is shewn by Gregory as the hardest, narrowest and most painful way to salvation, but one leading to the greatest heights of spiritual perfection, if only the practice of prayer is joined to all the rest of man's activity (this absolute condition of the success of prayer shews that there is nothing "mechanical" about it). That is why, although he counsels this way to all who desire to be saved and believes it accessible to all, Gregory points out that only the monastic life, removed as it is from the world, offers favourable conditions for it. "It is, of course, possible for those living in the state of matrimony to strive to attain to this purity, but only with very great hardships."<sup>22</sup>

We have intentionally devoted much space to Gregory's ideas on the significance of the heart and of the body generally in the spiritual life of man (ideas which are to be found in earlier ascetic writers, but which are developed by Gregory with greater clearness and in a characteristic systematically philosophical way), because this makes it easier to understand the true meaning of the most original side of his ascetic teaching, that concerned with the so-called "artistic"<sup>23</sup> mental prayer and its methods. There are hardly any accounts of the methods of artistic prayer in the early fathers, although some indications of it occur as early as St. John Climacus (IV c.),<sup>24</sup> in Hesychius of Sinai (VI—VIIIcc.)<sup>25</sup>; the fullest descriptions of it are to be found in the treatise on the three ways of prayer by B. Simeon the New Theologian (early XI c.)<sup>26</sup> in Nicephoros the Monk (XIII c.)<sup>27</sup> and in B. Gregory the Sinaite (XIII c.<sup>28</sup>). The silence of the early fathers concerning these methods may be explained in different ways (whether it is that these methods did not exist at all or that they formed

the subject of direct personal instruction from elders to disciples, and so were not committed to writing until, with the gradual disappearance of the elders there came to be a danger of their being forgotten, and they were set down by those who were experienced in them<sup>29</sup>); one thing is clear—that those methods were fairly widely known in the Orthodox East and formed part of its ascetic tradition long before the time of Gregory Palamas and the fourteenth century hesychasts of Mount Athos. It is quite unlikely both from the historical and from the religio-psychological point of view that (as has been thought by some) these methods were a matter of individual "inventon" by some private person, and at that almost a contemporary of Gregory.<sup>30</sup> As to the misunderstanding of their significance which is so frequent even among orthodox scholars<sup>31</sup>, it comes chiefly from the fact that what are in reality secondary and subsidiary operations are taken to be the essential part of this kind of prayer.<sup>32</sup> Again we must remember that those ascetic writers who treated of artistic prayer did not attempt to give in this or that work an exhaustive account of the whole of Orthodox ascetic doctrine but usually limited themselves to the exposition of some part of it which had either been insufficiently explained by others or, for some reason, caused perplexity. In any case it would be a mistake to suppose that such particular rules (in this case those of artistic prayer) could assume in their eyes the place of the whole of the Church's ascetic teaching; in reality this teaching, which forms one harmonious whole, was presupposed by them to be generally known and they did not think it necessary to refer to it continually while treating of the particular questions which interested them.<sup>33</sup> Finally we must remember that the apparent contradictions between this and that treatise on asceticism are often due to the fact that they were written for people at different stages of spiritual advancement.

We will now go on from these general remarks to Gregory's actual teaching on the methods of artistic prayer. We must note, however, that he does not give any such detailed account of them as is to be found in the works of his predecessors (B. Simeon the New Theologian, Nicephoros the Monk or Gregory the Sinaite). This probably seemed to him unnecessary in view of the widely spread knowledge of the subject in the monastic milieu of his time. On the other hand we find in Gregory a brilliant and most interesting ascetico-philosophical defence of some of these methods. The immediate occasion of its composition were the attacks made on the contemporary hesychasts of Mt. Athos by Barlaam who, on account of their pre-occupation with mental

prayer, called them omphalopsychics, *i.e.*, people who were supposed to teach that the soul was situated in the stomach. But although it was called forth by the needs of the time Gregory's work of apologetics acquires an independent interest in its connection with the rest of his views on asceticism. The defence is based on the idea which we have already examined that, since the body is not in its essence evil, but created by God to be the temple of the indwelling Spirit, it is quite natural to use its help in a subsidiary way for the work of prayer. Of such subsidiary methods connected with the physical nature of man Gregory especially examines the two following: (1) the connection of prayer with breathing (*ἀναπνοή*), (more exactly with in-breathing) which helps to keep the mind within and to join it to the heart; (2) the taking up of a certain position during prayer (*τὸ ἔξω σχῆμα*),<sup>34</sup> usually sitting with head bent and eyes directed to the chest or lower even towards the stomach.<sup>35</sup>

As to the first method based on breathing,<sup>36</sup> Gregory teaches that its role is purely subsidiary; it is to help man (particularly the beginner) to retain his mind inside himself, undistractedly, in the region of the heart which has, as we know, a central place in his whole spiritual life. The usefulness of establishing such a connection between breathing and prayer in order to achieve concentration may be questioned. We note, however, that theoretically there seems nothing impossible in this; it seems even quite likely in view of the connection between psychical and physical phenomena, which is both known to us from everyday life and confirmed by psychology. As to what really happens, that can only be known from experience in prayer. This is emphasised by Gregory: "Why should we speak of this any more?" he exclaims, "Do not all those who have experienced laugh at those who contradict from inexperience? For the teacher of these things is not the word but the work, and the experience gained through work."<sup>37</sup> And thus basing himself on this experience which is both individual and that of the Church, Gregory maintains that "it is not useless, particularly in the case of beginners, to teach them to look into themselves and to send their mind inwards by means of breathing."<sup>38</sup> Otherwise the beginner's mind will continually wander outwards and be distracted, thereby depriving the prayer of its fruitfulness. Therefore it is recommended to connect prayer with breathing, particularly at the beginning, so long as the hesychast is not yet, with God's grace, firmly grounded in recollection and divine contemplation; in other words "until, with God's help, he has perfected himself in what is better and, keeping his mind immovably fixed within

itself and distinct from all else, he is able to gather it perfectly into one whole." (*ἐνοιδῆ συνελεξιν*—terminology of Dionysius the Areopagite).<sup>39</sup> Having reached this state of recollection the *silent* is easily preserved in it by God's grace, but to reach it great labour and patience are necessary as proof and consequence of our love of God. "No beginner" writes Gregory, "is ever seen to achieve these things without labour."<sup>40</sup> But in those who are advanced and "whose soul is perfectly withdrawn into itself, all this necessarily happens without labour or care."<sup>41</sup> What has been said should be enough to explain Gregory's attitude to the "breathing method" in prayer.

Let us only note in conclusion (1) that this method is not binding on all those who would reach perfection in prayer but is merely recommended and that chiefly to beginners; (2) Gregory emphasises that it is altogether secondary as an aid to recollection: (3) success in prayer depends ultimately on God (*σὺν Θεῷ ἐπι τῷ κρείττον προΐόντες*), and not only on our own efforts; (4) our efforts are the manifestations of our love of God; (5) this method of prayer is very arduous.

Another method of artistic prayer, the so-called "omphaloscopy," is treated by Gregory at somewhat greater length. As we have already said, this method was bitterly attacked and derided by Barlaam and his followers. These attacks continue to the present day; the hesychasts are accused (1) of making mental prayer to consist entirely in gazing at the stomach (omphaloscopy) and (2) of believing that man's soul is situated in the stomach (hence the mocking name "omphaloscopes" invented by Barlaam and used by Leo Allatius).<sup>42</sup> But if we put aside these polemics and approach the matter objectively we will find that "omphaloscopy" had a quite different meaning in the ascetic practice of Eastern monasticism. And firstly, it would be difficult to see in it an essential element of mental prayer, if only because it is very rarely mentioned in ascetic writings. Unless we are mistaken, apart from Gregory Palamas it is mentioned only by Simeon the New Theologian in his treatise on the three ways of prayer.<sup>43</sup> Neither Nicephoros the Monk nor B. Gregory the Sinaite, both of whom treat in such detail of the breathing method, mention it at all. All the same "omphaloscopy" doubtless was practised by the ascetics of the time as a subsidiary method of prayer and that is why Gregory Palamas found it necessary to defend it against the attacks of Barlaam. This defence was based on the same fundamental conceptions as those which underlie his apology of the "breathing" method (although the arguments are developed somewhat differently). The fundamental idea is

still that of the connection between the psychical and the physical and its importance in the matter of concentrating and retaining the attention. He writes : " In view of the fact that, since the Fall, it is natural for the inner man to correspond in everything to outward forms it cannot but be very helpful to those who seek recollection, if, instead of allowing their gaze to wander to and fro, they let it rest as on a kind of support on their breast or stomach."<sup>44</sup> This text happily expresses the true meaning of " omphaloscopy " ; it shows that the aim is recollection and that keeping the eyes fixed on one point (in preference to letting them wander) is a means to this end. Let us note the expression " helpful " (*συντελέσεις*) which clearly shows that a secondary and not a primary importance is attached to this method ; as also the fact that fixing the eyes on the stomach is mentioned after the words " on the breast," showing this to be a second alternative. We must note also that, in the opinion of Gregory Palamas, apart from the direction of the eyes, the actual position of the body, bent and humble, is significant ; praying thus man is at least outwardly assimilated to the publican who dared not lift up his eyes, or to the prophet Elias who, praying, laid his head on his knees.<sup>45</sup> Again there is in this position something corresponding to that cyclical movement of the mind mentioned by Dionysius the Areopagite.<sup>46</sup> Because of all this the outward form (*το ἔξω σχῆμα*) i.e., the taking up of a certain attitude of the body during prayers appears in Gregory's experienced view helpful not only to beginners but also to those who are advanced ; he writes : " not to speak of beginners, certain even of the most advanced, using this form of prayer, were heard of God."<sup>47</sup> Let us note " certain " (*τῶν τελειωτέρων οἱ* consequently not all). Interpreting the meaning of artistic prayer in this way Gregory rejects the silly fable spread by Barlaam that the hesychasts believed the stomach to be the seat of the soul. Writing against the Barlaamites who surnamed the hesychasts " omphalopsychics " he says : " (this appellation) is evidently a calumny, for which of them (the hesychasts) has ever maintained that the soul is in the stomach ? "<sup>48</sup>

Such, roughly, is Gregory's teaching on the methods† of

†It is perhaps as well here to remind readers of some remarks of Father Hausherr on the subject. " However strange these proceedings appear—even their adepts called them physical and scientific—they do not belong exclusively to the East, and doubtless a cautious theologian would not *a priori* deny their lawfulness. He would only exact that no infallible efficacy be attributed to them and especially that none should hope to reach divine contemplation by their means without passing through all the renunciations and ascetical purifications. The originators of the

"artistic" mental prayer. In some of the works written in defence of the monks of Mt. Athos they are treated at some length, while in others of a more general moral and ascetic character (e.g., epistles to the nun Xenia, sermons, etc.), they are not mentioned at all. We think that, if Gregory devoted so much attention to the description and defence of this kind of prayer, it was in answer to the attacks made on it at that time by the opponents of the contemplative life. It was necessary to defend truth and to combat its tendentious and caricatural deformations.

But Gregory's writings on artistic prayer have their value independently of the needs of the moment; in them, for the first time in ascetic literature, we find a systematical, psychological and theological exposition of these methods which had undoubtedly been practised long before his time.

These apologetic works are some of Gregory's most original contributions to Orthodox ascetic literature. It would, however, be a great mistake to think that Gregory conceived these methods, useful though they are but still secondary, as the essence and chief content of mental prayer. Not this or that ascetic action but "the ascent of the mind to God and direct intercourse with Him" are believed by him as by all Orthodox mystics throughout history to be the aim and content of true spiritual prayer.<sup>49</sup> This union of the mind with God was for Gregory the foundation and summit of the whole spiritual life of man and its interruption appeared to him as the cause of all our falls. He writes with characteristic forcefulness: "The mind which has separated itself from God becomes either bestial or satanic."<sup>50</sup>

In this state of direct union with the Creator, when our mind comes out of the framework of our ordinary activity and remains, as it were, beside itself, man attains to the true knowledge of God, "to that unknowing which is above knowledge and compared to which all our philosophy and our ordinary knowledge based on the understanding of the created world are found to be insufficient and one-sided." He writes: "it is truly impossibly to be united to God ( $\Theta\epsilon\wp\sigma\gamma\gamma\epsilon\nu\sigma\theta\alpha\iota$ ) unless, besides purifying ourselves, we come to be outside or rather above ourselves, having left all that which pertains to the sensible world and risen above

Hesychast movement were too well acquainted with tradition to fall into that mistake; . . . there was the Hesychasm of simple people, and this latter, provided it remains faithful to the traditional principles of faith and ascetism (which quite often happens), can indeed lead souls by means of abnegation and the 'prayer of Jesus' to genuine contemplation and to a high Christian perfection." (quoted in the E.C.Q., Vol. II, No. 4, p. 181 and 183).—(EDITOR).

ideas, reasonings and even all knowledge and even above reason itself, being entirely under the influence of the intellectual sense and having reached that ignorance which is above knowledge and (what is the same) above every kind of philosophy.”<sup>51</sup> This higher spiritual state, when man separates himself from everything created and changeable and, uniting himself to the Godhead, is illumined by its light is called by Gregory “silence” or hesychia. He writes : “silence is the stopping of the mind and of the world, forgetfulness of what is below, secret knowledge of what is above, putting aside of thoughts for what is better than they ; this is the true activity, the ascent to the true contemplation and vision of God. . . . This alone is the sign of the healthy soul, for every other virtue is only a remedy to cure the infirmity of the soul . . . while contemplation is the fruit of the healthy soul . . . by it man is deified, not by the way of ascending from reason or from the visible world or through the guesswork of analogy . . . but ascending through silence . . . for by this means one in a certain sense comes in touch with the blessed and untouchable nature (of God). And thus, having purified our hearts through holy silence and mingled unutterably with the Light which is above feeling and thought, they see God in themselves as in a mirror.”<sup>52</sup>

This teaching on holy silence as the highest state of the soul and as the means of attaining to the knowledge of God and union with Him was most vividly expressed by Gregory in his remarkable work on the Presentation in the Temple of the most holy Mother of God,<sup>53</sup> from which we have already quoted several times. According to Gregory the Blessed Virgin Mary, remaining from the age of three alone with God in the Temple, in constant prayer and meditation, separated from mankind and from the world, realised holy silence and mental prayer in the highest and most perfect way. He writes : “The Mother of God united her mind with God through recollection, attention and ceaseless divine prayer . . . by rising above multiform ideas and above every kind of image she opened a new and untold way to heaven . . . mental silence (*νοητὴν σιγήν*) . . . She beholds the glory of God and contemplates divine grace without being in the least subject to the power of feeling, while she is herself a sacred and amiable object to incorrupt souls and minds.”<sup>54</sup> Moreover the Incarnation itself is connected by Gregory with the fact that the Mother of God set out thus in early childhood on the path of silent prayer, “she alone of all mankind was thus supernaturally silent from early childhood ; she alone merited to conceive immaculately the Divine

Humanity of the Word."<sup>55</sup> Thus in the person of the Mother of God silence not only finds its holiest realisation and justification but manifests the greatness of its power to unite man with God.<sup>56</sup>

In conclusion of our exposition of the ascetico-gnoseological teaching of Gregory Palamas we wish to note the following peculiarities. Firstly the importance he gives to the rôle of the body in the work of bringing man to the knowledge of and union with God. This conception of man as one whole is vividly expressed in Gregory's teaching on the Divine likeness which is possessed by man more than by the angels and is reflected in his whole psycho-physical being. In the domain of asceticism this idea is expressed in the teaching on the co-operation of the body in the spiritual life, its capacity to be illuminated by and united with the Divinity in one contemplative operation which embraces the whole man. Gnoseologically Gregory opposes the one-sided intellectual cognition which is useless for the knowledge of God to a supra-rational knowledge accessible to man when his whole being has been enlightened and he has attained union with God. This idea that the entire human being participates in Divine knowledge is characteristic of Gregory's teaching. Another peculiar feature is his combining the idea of an inapprehensible and unattainable Divinity with that of the possibility of union with God through grace and direct vision of Him. Here for the first time in the domain of asceticism and gnoseology we meet the antinomism so characteristic of Gregory Palamas. We will attempt to give a more detailed account of this side of his teaching in the following chapters which are devoted to his more purely theological views. We will only point out here that this apparent contradiction in Gregory between his idea of God and of the ways of knowing Him is not an isolated instance in Eastern patristic literature. Closest to him in this is St. Gregory of Nyssa : hardly any of the holy fathers insisted so much as he on the inapprehensible and inexpressible nature of God ; yet few have theologised so profoundly or so fully on His inapprehensible nature.

(To be continued).

BASIL KRIVOSHEIN

(Monk of Mt. Athos).

<sup>1</sup> Ττερ τῶν ἱερῶς ἡτοχαζόντων.' P.G. 150, 1105 C.

<sup>2</sup> Ibidem 150, 1105 D.

<sup>3</sup> Ibid. 150, 1108 A. Concerning the heart as the centre see V. Visheslavtzev, *The Heart in Christian and Hindoo mysticism*, Paris, 1929, pp. 12—14, etc.

4 "Δεκάλογος τῆς κατὰ Χριστὸν νομοθεσίας ἡτοι τῆς Νέας Διαθήκης." P.G. 150, 1089—1101. In this work Gregory treats of the O.T. commandments in the light of the evangelical revelation.

5 Κεφ. P.G. 150, 1161 D (κεφ 57).

6 "ἡ κοινωνία τῶν δμολων ἀρετῶν." Περὶ προσευχῆς. 150, 1117 B.

7 "τῇ κοινωνίᾳ τῆς κατὰ τὴν εὐχὴν πρὸς τὸν Θεόν δεήσεως τε καὶ ἐνώσεως."

Ibidem.

8 Ibidem.

9 Περὶ προσευχῆς. P.G. 150, 1117 C.

10 Περὶ προσευχῆς. P.G. 150, 1120 A.

11 Ibidem.

12 Ibidem.

13 Ibidem.

14 Περὶ προσευχῆς. P.G. 150, 1121 A.

15 Ibidem.

16 P.G. 150, 1120 A.

17 "ἡσυχαστής ἔστιν δὲ ἀσώματον ἐν σώματι περιορίζειν σπένδων."—Τπέρ τῶν ἵερῶν ἡσυχαζόντων. P.G. 150, 1109 B. The quotation is taken from part 27 of Climacus and given not literally, but correctly as to its meaning —v. P.G. 88, 1097 B.

18 "Τπέρ τῶν ἵερῶν ἡσυχαζόντων. P.G. 150, 1108 C.

19 "ἄγνοοντι . . . ὅτι ἄλλο μὲν οὐσία νόος, ἄλλο δὲ ἐνέργεια. P.G. 150, 1108 CD.

20 P.G. 150, 1180 C B.

21 Such opinions of the hesychastic prayer may be found in M. Jugie: *Les origines de la méthode d'oraison des hesychastes*, Echos d'Orient XXX (1931) 179—185; and in Hausherr, S.J., *La méthode d'oraison hesychaste*, Orientalia Christiana, Vol. 9, 2 (1927). Jugie calls the hesychastic method of prayer "un procédé méchanique . . . (pour arriver) à bon compte (à l'enthousiasme.)"

22 P.G. 150, 1056 A.

23 "Ἐπιστημονική," Hausherr translates "scientific." In fact in the contemporaneous Greek this word has the meaning of "scientific." But it appears to us that the term accepted in Church-Slavonic (and thence Russian) translations, "artistic," better expresses the meaning which the ascetic writers put into it.

24 See "Δόγος 27. Περὶ τῆς ἵερᾶς σώματος καὶ ψυχῆς ἡσυχίας, P.G. 88, 1096—1117. Δόγος 28. Περὶ τῆς ἵερᾶς προσευχῆς, P.G. 88, 1129—1140.

25 Δόγος πρὸς θεόδουλον . . . περὶ νήψεως καὶ ἀρετῆς. P.G. 93, 1480—1544.

26 "Μέθοδος τῆς ἵερᾶς προσευχῆς καὶ προσοχῆς. The exact text of this work outstanding in orthodox ascetic literature was first published by Hausherr in his *La méthode d'oraison hesychaste*, pp. 150—172. Until then only its modern Greek translation was known. v. *Φιλοκαλία*, pp. 1178—1185 (Venice, 1782).

27 "Τοῦ δούλου πατρὸς ἡμῶν Νικηφόρου Μοναχοῦ λόγος περὶ νήψεως καὶ φυλακῆς καρδίας. P.G. 147, 945—966. Concerning the dates of B. Nicephoros's life there are several opinions: some (*Φιλοκαλία* p. 867) believe him to have been the teacher of Gregory Palamas (his life does not confirm this), others place him in the XII or XIII c. (Jugie, *Les origines de la méthode*, pp. 179—185). We put him in the second half of the XIII c. In the fifth treatise against Barlaam, Gregory Palamas mentions that B. Nicephoros the Monk suffered for orthodoxy during the persecutions after the termination of the Union of Lyons by Michael Paleologos (1274)—v. P. Uspensky, *History of Mount Athos*, part III, ch. II, pp. 111 and 634. Therefore B. Nicephoros could hardly have been the teacher of Gregory Palamas, as may be also concluded from the second treatise against Barlaam by Gregory Palamas where he numbers B. Nicephoros among the saints of old times and not among the fathers whom he knew personally: v. "Τπέρ τῶν ἱερῶν ἡσυχαζόντων, P.G. 150, 1116 C. (on this Jugie).

28 Περὶ τῆς ἀναπνοῆς, P.G. 150, 1316 C—1317 A. Περὶ τοῦ πάντος δεῖ καθεγεσθαι, P.G. 150, 1329 A—1333 A.

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<sup>29</sup> Bishop Ignatius Briantchaninov holds this view in his remarkable ascetic works ; these are invaluable for the understanding of the teaching of the holy fathers on mental prayer. (1st, 5th, and particularly 2nd Vols. of his works).

<sup>30</sup> This is maintained by Hausherr in the above-mentioned work, *La méthode d'oraison Hésychaste*, and particularly in his article " Note sur l'inventeur de la méthode d'oraison hésychaste," Orient. Chr. t. XX (1930) 179-182. Hausherr denies (we think without sufficient grounds) the authorship of the treatise on the methods of prayer to B. Simeon the New Theologian and attributes it to B. Nicephorus the Monk, placing him in the time of Gregory Palamas and looking on him as the " inventor " of artistic prayer. Jugie criticises these unfounded statements in *Les origines de la méthode*. . . . Jugie proves convincingly that the treatise on the three methods, even if it is not written by B. Simeon the New Theologian himself, is at any rate undoubtedly of his time (and not contemporaneous with Gregory Palamas).

<sup>31</sup> An example of this is the article "Barlaamite heresy" by Gregory Nedetovsky (Academy of Kiev, 1872, pp. 317-357). This is how he describes artistic mental prayer : " Such hideous forms of religious exercise existed in the East that it is sad to think man can be so misled by a disordered imagination. Thus Simeon of the monastery of Xerokhori invented a very strange method of prayer." (pp. 329-330 note). There follows a quotation on the three ways of prayer (according to Leo Allatius). Nedetovsky does not even suspect that the Simeon of Xerokhori whom he mentions is no other than the B. Simeon the New Theologian who is so highly honoured in the Orthodox Church and is one of the greatest Eastern Orthodox mystics. Bishop Alexis, following Nedetovsky in this case, makes out that Simeon of Kserokersk was an elder—whose disciple was Barlaam when he stayed on Mount Athos in order to study monastic life !! (see his article : *Mystics of the Byzantine Church*, Pravoslavni Sobessednic, 1906, I, notes on p. 105). It is curious that the artistic prayer is represented by Nedetovsky as the fruit of a disordered imagination, whereas in reality, its distinguishing feature is the rejection of images, fancies, and, in general, "soaring of the mind."

<sup>32</sup> This mistake is made by Hausherr. In *La méthode d'oraison hésychaste*, he often confuses the methods of mental prayer with its essence. He writes on mental prayer : " En résumé donc, deux exercices composent la méthode : la recherche du lieu du cœur, qui a valu aux hésychastes le nom 'd'omphalopsychiques' et la répétition ininterrompue de la ' prière de Jésus.' Moyennant quoi on arrivera à voir ' ce qu'on ne savait pas,' c'est à dire en termes théologiques, selon Palamas ' la lumière du Thabor ' " (Op. cit. III). In another place in the same book examining the exterior methods of mental prayer in more detail—omphaloscopy, rhythm of breathing, etc., he maintains that in the opinion of the hesychastes " moyennant la persistance dans cette ' oraison mentale,' on finira par trouver se qu'on cherchait, le lieu du cœur et, avec lui et en lui, toutes sortes de merveilles et de connaissances " (ivid. 102). In a word, the attainment of higher spiritual states appears to Hausherr (in his interpretation of " hesychastic prayer ") as a necessary result (on finira par trouver) of a persistent exercise in methods of prayer, and not as the fruit of interior union of man with God and the free action of Divine grace, as was in reality taught by all those who practised mental prayer.

<sup>33</sup> In our opinion it is because they failed to see artistic prayer as an organic part of the general ascetical teaching of the Church, that Jugie, Hausherr and others believed the hesychasts to substitute for the hard way of keeping the commandments the " easy " and " mechanical " way of prayer. In reality however prayer was always thought of together with the commandments ; to place it in opposition to the commandments is in itself erroneous since it is nothing but the fulfilling of the fundamental laws of love towards God and man.

34 Ὑπὲρ τῶν ἱερῶν ἡσυχαζόντων. P.G. 150, 1112 B.

35 Ibidem P.G. 150, 1112 C.

36 Gregory writes on the method of breathing in the same treatise : Ὑπὲρ τῶν ἱερῶν ἡσυχαζόντων. Indirectly this question was also examined by the Council of 1341.

37 Ὑπὲρ τῶν ἱερῶν ἡσυχαζόντων. P.G. 150, 1112 B.

38 P.G. 150, 1109 B.

39 P.G. 150, 1109 D.

40 P.G. 150, 1112 A.

41 Ibidem.

42 The appellation " ὁμφαλοψύχοι " or " umbilicanimi " is given to the hesychasts by Leo Allatius in his *De Ecclesiae Occidentalis et Orientalis perpetua concensione*, v. P.G. 150, 898 D.

43 Hausherr, *La méthode . . .*, p. 164. Also P.G. 150, 899 AB (Allatius).

44 P.G. 150, 1112 BC.

45 P.G. 150, 1113 CD.

46 P.G. 150, 1109 A.

47 P.G. 150, 1113 C.

48 P.G. 150, 1116 A.

49 πνευματικὴ . . . ἄγλος προσευχὴ . . . δυιλία ἐστὶ νοῦ πρὸς Θεὸν . . . συνομιλεῖν μῆδενδες μεσιτεῖοντος . . . ἀνάθασις νοῦ πρὸς θεον. P.G. 79, 1169 CD-1173 D-1181 AD. These remarkable definitions of the essence of mental prayer are borrowed from the treatise on prayer of one of the greatest ascetical writers of antiquity B. Nilus of Sinai (fifth century) ; they are well suited to express the teaching of Gregory Palamas.

50 Ὁμιλ. Σοφ. 114.

51 " Word on the Presentation of Our Lady "—Ὁμιλ. Σοφ. σελ. 169-170.

52 Ὁμιλ. Σοφ. σελ. 170-171.

53 This " Word " is printed in Ὁμιλ. Σοφ. pp. 131-180.

54 Ὁμιλ. Σοφ. σελ. 176.

55 Ὁμιλ. Σοφ. σελ. 171.

56 Similar to it in meaning is Gregory Palamas ' Treatise in praise of B. Peter of Mount Athos. This " word " is a lively and vividly styled apology of the way of salvation of the hesychasts. That it is acceptable to God is proved by miracles worked through B. Peter—who is the hesychast. According to the treatise all the condemnation of " hesychachy " in favour of a more active life are inspired by the enemy of our salvation. As is well known Gregory Palamas is not the author of the life of B. Peter of Mount Athos which existed long before him. He only gave it a more literary turn and somewhat " stylised " it in the spirit of hesychasm (without however making any substantial changes), v. original text of the Life (composed probably in the IX century) in Kirsopp Lake : *The early days of monasticism on Mount Athos*, Oxford, 1909, pp. 18-39.

# THE ORTHODOX CONFRATERNITY OF ST. BENEDICT

**T**HE Orthodox Confraternity of St. Benedict is a society of lay missionaries directed by an episcopal president and assisted by clerical and lay associates.

The Confraternity has two principal aims: first, the promotion of the devotion among the laity, particularly through the restoration of the *domestic church of the Apostles*, and the Christian family; and secondly, to aid the episcopacy in home and foreign missions.

The members are divided into two classes, capitular members and associates. The capitular members, with the exception of the president, who is really a visitor to the Confraternity, are bound by perpetual vows to observe the Rule of the Confraternity or *Ascetica*. The associates are not bound by vows. According to the regulations only well-known churchworkers, graduates or members of learned societies, who speak several languages, may be admitted to the Confraternity. They may take the vows only after a long associate-ship and if they pass a special novitiate successfully. At present the Confraternity has 16 members, of whom four are capitular members and the others associates. The women's branch, now in process of formation, has three associates. Six members of the Confraternity are in holy orders and the remainder are laymen. The Archbishop Tykhon of Berlin, the head of the Orthodox Church in Germany, has been president of the Confraternity since its foundation ten years ago. His office corresponds to that of the visitor or protector in Catholic congregations and confraternities. He represents the episcopacy and ultimately the Orthodox hierarchy. He guards the orthodoxy of the Confraternity and all its publications must have his *Imprimatur*; through him it corresponds with the different Orthodox patriarchs, primates and synods. The real head of the Confraternity is its prior, to whom the members are bound by obedience according to the *Ascetica*. The prior is assisted by a council and is represented by his delegates in the different countries in which the Confraternity is working; these include Estonia, Finland, North America, Rumania and South America. The members of the Confraternity belong to various Orthodox Churches, are of different nationalities, and live in such diverse places as the Belgian Congo, Australia, the Far East and Paraguay.

<sup>1</sup> Archbishop Tykhon has just resigned from this position so the Confraternity are awaiting the appointment of a new president.

The steady influx of members into the Confraternity during the last two years, in spite of the raising of the qualification for admission, raises many serious problems. It appears that the time is not far distant when delegations of the Confraternity will form autonomous Confraternities, and the Confraternity itself will become a federation of national Confraternities corresponding to the organisation of the Benedictine Order, with its national and autonomous Congregations federated under an Abbot Primate. The existence of autocephalous Churches within the Orthodox Church may compel the Confraternity to adopt this method of organisation in due course. This increase in the Confraternity has made necessary the publication this year of the *Ascertica*, in which the ascetic doctrine of the brothers, their statutes, rites, missionary methods, etc., are described. The doctrinal teaching of the Confraternity is developed in the first part. The brothers adhere strictly to the Orthodox Confession of the Faith of Metropolitan Peter Mogila of Kiev, and therefore they are Orthodox scholastics. Their ascetic and mystical theology is that of Bishop Theophanios the Recluse, and is entirely free of all pantheistic or hegelian influence. As the Rule of St. Benedict is the blending of various Eastern and Western rules adapted to conditions of time and locality, so is the *Ascertica* the blending of the Orthodox scholasticism of Mogila with the patristic theology of Theophanios the Recluse, with all their practical implications. Needless to say, the Rule of St. Benedict is used fully in both parts of *Ascertica*, the second part of which is devoted to the description of the statutes and rites of the Confraternity, its missionary methods and its doctrine of family life. In the statutes and rites the Benedictine spirit of the Confraternity is expressed by its insistence on the importance of *Opus Dei*, family spirit, discretion, etc. The missionary activity is devoted chiefly to efforts to counteract anti-God propaganda, and to indicate the Christian solution of social and economic problems. The chapter on the *domestic church* is original and is based almost entirely on biblical sources.

Christian unity is discussed at length in *Ascertica*, for the Confraternity has been working for years in this particular field.

In conformity with its aims, the Confraternity has two distinct spheres of activity. First of all it tries to instil into its members the doctrinal and ascetic teaching of the Orthodox Church in order to make them living examples of Christian laity, especially in their family life. To obtain this result, various spiritual exercises are prescribed and suggestions are given.

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The missionary activity of the Confraternity is very varied. It was founded to promote Christian unity as it existed in the days of St. Benedict, and it has been working for years for the rapprochement between Orthodox, Catholics and Anglicans. The brothers write articles, pamphlets and booklets explaining the teaching, rites and mentality of the Orthodox Church to Western Christians, and vice versa. They have also organised several private meetings and conferences between Orthodox, Anglican and Catholic prelates, divines and churchworkers in many different countries, frequently with very good results.

The Confraternity introduced the observance of the Octave of Christian Unity in the Orthodox Church in 1935, and obtained the approval of three different synods to it. Although misunderstandings precluded the observance of the last Octave by the Russian Church in exile, it was observed not only by different clerical members of the Confraternity who are not under Russian jurisdiction, but also elsewhere. The misunderstanding arose from confusion between two distinct Octave ideologies; that of the Abbé Couturier, sponsored by the Confraternity, and that of the Anglican Church Unity Octave Council. It was wrongly understood by several Orthodox prelates that the observance of the Octave meant the acceptance of the dogmatic teaching of the Council. As this could not be admitted, the observance of the Octave was abandoned, not only by the Russian exiled Church, but in other places as well.

The Confraternity has also been working in the foreign mission field. It has raised money for Russian Orthodox universities, monasteries, convents and orphanages in the Far East, especially in Harbin and Shanghai. Anglican and Catholic friends have given much help in this direction. The Abbé Couturier, of Lyon, and Dom Virgil Michel, O.S.B., of St. John's Abbey, Minnesota, sent large donations for the library at the Orthodox Theological Faculty at Harbin, which was founded to provide clergy for the Orthodox dioceses in the Far East and for the Russian Church; and the Rev. Mother Cicely, superioress of the Anglican Convent of St. Saviour's, London, collected money for the Russian Abbess Rufina and her monasteries and orphanages in Harbin and Shanghai, in order to save them from being closed by lack of funds, or at least from reduction in numbers. The friends of the Confraternity are now trying to transfer the Shanghai Convent and orphanage to California.

The Confraternity helps Orthodox monasteries and clergy in several countries. The members are also working to maintain the Orthodox faith among the Russian exiles in

the Belgian Congo (Dr. D. Solomentsev); in South America (General N. Ern); in Australia (Father I. Serisev). General N. Ern has achieved particularly notable results in Paraguay, where he occupies an important post in the War Office. Two members of the Confraternity have specialised in polemics, and confront atheists through the press and at meetings. One of the associates, a confessor—the Archimandrite Eugene, now in Greece—spent several years in Soviet concentration camps, was tortured, and left the Soviet Union less than two years ago. This year the Confraternity hopes to arrange a congress in one of the Orthodox countries adjacent to Russia, to discuss the problems of the Christian front against the godless and anti-Christian propaganda, and to work out the Christian solution of contemporary social and economic problems. Besides the members of the Confraternity, its Catholic and Anglican friends will be invited.

Since the Confraternity is interested in the restoration of the Christian family, it is now forming a Women's branch which will observe the same *Ascertica* though it will have a different administration and its aims will be chiefly the protection of the family and the Christian education of children. There are at present seven associates who will in due course be professed; one of them, now undergoing special training, will be entrusted with the formation of the branch.

The family code of the Confraternity is very strict indeed. The lay members are encouraged to marry, but the standard of life set for them is high. No capitular member may marry unless his fiancée is admitted to the Women's branch.

The canonical seat of the Confraternity is the Orthodox cathedral at Berlin, but its prior lives in England. It has its sanctuary in the Church of the Forty Martyrs in the great Orthodox monastery of Petseri in Estonia, where one of the founders of the Confraternity is buried. The Church is built over his tomb.

Next December the Confraternity will celebrate its tenth anniversary, although it has existed since 1924 as a study circle in Estonia. The circle was formed into the present Confraternity in 1928. The jubilee will be commemorated in various ways which include the publication of *Ascertica*.

SERGE BOLSHAKOFF.

## REVIEW OF REVIEWS

EDITOR'S NOTE.—We intend in this review of certain periodicals of the past year not so much to criticize their contents as to give our readers an idea of current opinion on Eastern Church matters. Comment of course will be necessary on occasion.

*Irénikon.* Perhaps the most important articles which appeared during 1937 in this always fundamental and erudite periodical of the monks of Amay were those of Gustave Bardy, in the first two numbers on the latinization of the Western Church, a wholesome reminder that it was only at the end of the second century and in the African Church that the new religion from the East first appeared in completely Latin dress, before Rome herself had ceased to be Greek; and in the July number a well-documented study of the small extent to which Latin culture had percolated into the Christian East in the crucial fourth century.

The March number enters into deep theology. Père Congar, O.P., in an article entitled *Ecclesia de Trinitate* brings the light of human reason to bear on the stupendous revelation made by Christ that the Church is, not properly a society of men striving to achieve the counterpart of the unity of the Divine Persons, but the extension of that actual divine "Family life" to angels and men, and Erik Peterson, *à propos* of a prayer in the Liturgy of St. Mark, compares what we know of the praise of the angelic hosts with the liturgy of men upon earth.

In May the Abbot of Buckfast writes on the Promise of the Paraclete, while 42 pages in this and the next issue are devoted to an exhaustive treatise on sacramental "economy" by the hieromonk Peter.

The July issue also contains another of Madame Behr-Sigel's fascinating studies in Russian hagiography, this time introducing us to the protagonists in the early sixteenth century conflict between the hermitages of the great forests in the north, in which the spirit of St. Sergius lived on, and the large communities of central Russia, vast agricultural and commercial enterprises where a penitential strictness and rigid uniformity were enforced and which exercised a great social influence. Nil Sorsky, incidentally the only great writer among the saints of ancient Russia, held that, so far from possessing whole villages, monks should live in solitude on the fruits of their manual labour, though, unlike some of his European counterparts, he especially encouraged literary work such as the copying or translation of Greek religious manuscripts. But the opposition, led by Joseph de Volokolamsk, carried the day and, with charges of leniency towards heretics, obtained the suppression of the hermitages.

Joseph was thrice canonised after his death, but to-day is almost forgotten, while Nil, whose name only appeared in the official calendar in 1903, has an influence unequalled by any other saint of ancient Russia. Madame Behr-Sigel's portrait of Nil is a real contribution to our knowledge of eastern monasticism, for in seeking a mean between the isolation of the hermit and the restrictions placed on the individual by life in a big community he developed the ideal of what the Russians call *skits*—hermitages shared by two or three brethren with full scope for fraternal love and courtesy and at the same time nothing to prevent an individual monk from giving his whole attention to that longing for the presence of Christ which, more than the ascetic principles of Volokolamsk, was the lode-star of all eastern hesychast spirituality.

In the same number D. A. de Lilienfeld shows how the life of the late Lord Acton was entirely dedicated to what he terms the "liberal" approach to reunion—the preparation of the ground on the principle: *in necessariis unitas, in dubiis libertas*; while for the dogmatic theologian D. M. Rothenhaeusler clarifies with an exhaustive array of references the doctrine of "Theologia" taught by Bishop Diadochus of Photice.

A final tribute must be paid to the several hundred pages devoted to reports on the various congresses at Athens, Oxford, Edinburgh, etc., by such competent observers as L. Zander, N. Arseniev, and Dom C. Lialine, to the painstaking chronicle of events, from which no paragraph even in the *Universe* or the *Daily Telegraph* escapes, and to the innumerable reviews of all current books or articles even remotely connected with the Eastern Churches.

DOM JULIAN STONOR.

*Echos d'Orient.* The articles contributed to *Echos d'Orient* during 1937 provide a number of important additions to historical scholarship. We start at once in the January issue with V. Laurent's study, "L'oeuvre géographique du moine sicilien Nil Doxapatrīs," which gives a conjectural restoration of his life, and a critical discussion of his "Epitome" and "Treatise of the Five Patriarchates." (But why in so learned an article should Dr. Rendel Harris be referred to almost consistently as Harris Rendel and once even as Rendis Harrel!) R. Janin follows with "La Pétrion de Constantinople. Etude historique et topographique." "If the topography of Byzantine Constantinople begins to be better known, there remain a number of obscure points," and a close examination of all the texts which relate to a place may cause a

radical revision of hypotheses hitherto generally accepted. This he shows in the April number over the site of the ἔμβολοι τοῦ Δομνίνου and of the church of St. Anastasia, and in the July number over those of the quarters Τὰ Ναρσοῦ and Ὁξεῖα. Père Grumel, who continues his work on Byzantine chronology, has an article of brilliant erudition—called “Une date historique-liturgique: τῇ τρίτῃ τῆς Γαλιλαίας” in the January number, and another entitled “Notes chronologiques : La révolte d’Andronic Doux sous Léon VI. La victoire navale d’Himerius” in that of April.

It is again the January issue which gives us “L’unionisme de Georges Scholarios” by Père Jugie, who has just finished the editing of his works by the publication of the eighth and last volume. Here he sets beyond doubt the authenticity of Scholarios’s explicit profession of faith in the Catholic dogma of the procession of the Holy Spirit from the Father and the Son as defined in the terms of union at the Council of Florence—an authenticity which had been called in question on account of the strangeness of the sudden change which led him so soon after to attack the doctrine in voluminous writings.

We end with an excellent, instructive and entertaining account from V. Laurent of the Fifth International Congress of Byzantine Studies, held at Rome in September 1936. This most distinguished gathering, to which was brought a vast array—perhaps too vast an array—of scholarship, was attended by fourteen delegations from various governments, but there was no representation from England or Turkey. The latter omission may be understandable, but the former, even allowing for the political situation at the time, is to be regretted. This assembly of *savants* of many creeds was accorded an audience by the Pope.

In the April number we owe to Père Jugie the publication for the first time of the profession of faith of George Amiroutzes at Florence, and Père Grumel contributes an attractive article, “Jean Grammaticos et saint Théodore Studite,” which shows that it is probable that the correspondent to whom St. Theodore addressed a number of letters here printed was none other than the future Iconoclast Patriarch. The same writer gives a series of reviews entitled “Mélanges d’art et d’archéologie byzantine” and there is a very interesting account of the First Congress of Orthodox Theology, held at Athens in November to December 1936, from E. Stephanou, who was present at it.

Perhaps the most important article of the year is contained in the July number. This is Père Jugie’s, “Les origines romaines de l’Eglise russe.” It should be made widely

known, for there is a powerful legend, which tells how St. Vladimir, who officially introduced Christianity into Russia, first made inquiry to discover which was the best of religions, and rejecting Islamism, Judaism and "Latinism," (as lacking in magnificent ceremonies), was led by an account of the splendours of the liturgy of St. Sophia to embrace the religion of Constantinople. In fact, the more modern Russian historians have discovered that this is a later Greek story, which does not tally with eleventh century documents which have come to light, and the whole trend of the evidence makes it almost certain that the first organization of the Russian Church under Vladimir was made after an understanding with Rome, and under its auspices.

There follows the first of two articles by R. Loenertz : "Manuel Paléologue et Démétrius Cydonès. Remarques sur leurs correspondances," and E. d'Alessio gives an account of "La communauté latine de Constantinople au lendemain de la conquête ottomane" (this community has recently been suppressed by the Turkish government). Père Grumel's long review of Père Chévalier's recently published "La mariologie de saint Jean Damascène" has already been noticed in THE EASTERN CHURCHES QUARTERLY. J. Lacombe ends with the Chronicle of the Oriental Churches.

The October number has several notable contributions. There is Père Grumel's valuable account of the Soteriology of Leontius of Byzantium—whose teaching has been rather overlooked, and is well worth the study. Then A.-P. Péchayre continues his history of the Archbishops of Ochrida—a tragic story of struggle to throw off the Turkish yoke, for which the only constant Western encouragement came from the Popes. Lastly we may mention another important article from Père Jugie ; "Le schisme de Michel Cérulaire." This is an extract from an approaching work and sums up, it seems to us with fairness, the characters and states of mind involved in the affair.

DOM RALPH RUSSELL.

*L'Unité de l'Eglise.* At the end of 1936 it seemed certain that, owing to the difficulties of the times, *L'Unité de l'Eglise* would cease publication after fourteen successful years. At the eleventh hour this was happily avoided, but it was found necessary to increase the postpaid subscription to 15 francs in France and 19 francs abroad ; this is still less than one would expect to have to pay for a publication of its quality.

A change was also made in the scheme of the periodical, intended to make it still more in the first place a record of

*actualités.* At any rate some of its issues in 1937 were definitely divided into *Questions orientales* and *Questions occidentales*, and these last were necessarily considerably taken up with non-Catholic matters in England. It is always good for us English Catholics to come into contact with the greater wide-spiritedness and fresh views of continental Catholics with regard to our separated brethren in this country : at the same time, there is little that appeared under this head in *L'Unité de l'Eglise* that was new to us. From our point of view, continental Protestantism does not bulk largely enough in the Western section. In the Eastern section we should like to hear more about the various Ruthenian bodies and the state of Catholic and other orientals in central Europe and America.

In number 82 there was a useful summary by Father Lacombe of the 1936 Orthodox theological congress at Athens and in number 83 Father Janin gave a most useful account of Orthodoxy in the Baltic states. But the outstanding article of the year was Prince Peter Volkonsky's on the life of Leonid Feodorov (numbers 84, 85 and 86), the Catholic Russian exarch who died at Viatka in 1935 after many years of imprisonment under bolshevists ; the extracts from his letters to Mgr. Szepticky of Lwow are of extraordinary interest.

DONALD ATTWATER.

**Καθολικη.** Edited by M. Antonios Perris, Athens. This fortnightly is produced mainly for the benefit of Catholics in Greece. Its four pages provide succinctly all the usual features of a popular Catholic newspaper, reporting current events in the world at large, in any way bearing on religion, besides news of special interest to Catholics. The Greek and Latin liturgical calendars for the week are given side by side with a column devoted to the life of a saint chosen from one or the other. It is interesting to note that **Καθολικη** follows the *Church Times*, as well as the Catholic press of England, as witness an article on the Byzantine Liturgy celebrated in the presence of the Most Rev. Archbishop Downey in Liverpool (14th October, 1937). The reviewer was happy to read a sympathetic article on the new Irish Constitution (6th January).

DOM PAULINUS IEVERS.

*Acta Academiæ Velebradensis* (Annus XIII, Fasc. 2—3).

The second and third fasciscules for 1937 contain several essays of great interest. Fr. S. Salaville, A.A., gives an account of the origin and history of the great work now being published by his order : "Le Patriarcat byzantin. Recherches de

diplomatique, d'histoire et de géographie ecclésiastiques publiées par l'Institut d'études byzantines des Augustins de l'Assomption." This is a new edition revised and enlarged of the *Oriens Christianus* of the Dominican Lequien, published in 1740, and has been in contemplation and preparation since 1900. Two fascicules of the first volume of the first series, *Les Regestes des Actes du Patriarcat de Constantinople*, edited by V. Grumel, have already been published and two also of the second series, *Corpus Notitiarum episcopatum Ecclesiae Graecæ*, edited by E. Gerland and V. Laurent, of which the first is in German and the second in French. Extracts from the first series show that this scholarly work will be invaluable for students of the Eastern Churches.

Fr. George Hofmann, S.J., writes on the discussions of the Procession of the Holy Spirit in the Council of Florence, and gives an account of the sources and text of the principal documents; a selection of these showing how agreement was reached is added.

Two essays by Dr. F. Grivec, *De Corpore Christi Mysticō* and *Christus in Ecclesia*, deal largely with the same matter and are complementary. In the first, Dr. Grivec's thesis is that the expression "Mystical Body of Christ" primarily signifies the Church in the strict sense of the Church militant, and that consequently the idea of the Mystical Body must be given a central position in the treatise "De Ecclesia" and its relation with the hierarchical structure of the Church must not be neglected. The second essay describes Dr. Grivec's own treatment of the treatise (*Kristus v. Cerkvi Ljubljana* 1936) which he divides into four parts: (1) *De Regno Dei*; (2) *Super firmam petram*; (3) *Christus in Ecclesia* (*De Corpore Christi mystico*); (4) *Factum Ecclesiae*; in this he urges the necessity of using the scriptural concepts of the Kingdom of God and the Mystical Body in studying the Church. The second part deals with the hierarchical constitution of the Church and is largely based on Soloviev's teaching. The fourth is also practical, proving that the Catholic Chuch is the true Church of Christ and expounding the duties of Catholics towards the Church.

Among the other Latin articles are a lengthy discussion by Dr. J. Kraljič, of Soloviev's teaching on lying and his effort to solve the age-old problem of the "officious" lie compared with St. Augustine's, and the first part of a valuable paper by Dr. T. Kurent, S.O.Cist., proving the devotion of SS. Cyril and Methodius to the Roman Pontiff and the Apostolic See. There is an essay in Russian on the Exarch Leonid Fedorov by Prince Peter Volkonsky.

DOM THEODORE RICHARDSON.

*Russie et Chrétienté* (39 rue François-Gerard, Paris XVI.)  
(New series I—III, January—September, 1937).

The staff of this review are to be heartily congratulated on the new type, cover and format, the literary excellence of its matter remains unchanged—it could hardly be better.

To each of the three issues under review the indefatigable Mdlle. DANZAS contributes an article. The first ably sketches Russia's contribution to Christian missionary activity, contrasting it with that of the Latin Church. Whereas the Empire of the West became Catholic largely as a result of the fusion of Arian or pagan rulers with an already converted populace, in Russia a Christian ruler actually conquered new territory for Christ : it was a real expansion of Christendom. The great scholastic florescence of the thirteenth century coincided with the disastrous incursion of the Tartar hordes of Ghenghis Khan, followed by practical separation *malgré soi* of the Muscovite Church from Byzantium and definitive nationalization of the Church. Paradoxically too it was the Tartars who initiated the royal patronage of the church which was to prove so deadly in a later age. Hence also came the weakness of Russian missionary effort in those parts of Asia accessible to her. Nevertheless the nineteenth century saw the Christian ethics spread over Central Asia like a long ribbon to the shores of the Pacific, a ribbon now being deliberately shredded by the Soviet régime. A second article deals with the discouragement and reactions of the first generation of Soviet youth under its communistic régime. Internationalism and collectivism is now blown upon—save in the speeches of party agitators—individual initiative and patriotism are coming into their own again. The Komsomol, with a mere three and a half million membership in its most expansive days, has been reduced by "purges" to less than half that number, and even so in 1935 the OGPU detected no less than 23 opposition organizations within it in Ukraine alone. New privileged classes are forming : intelligentsia, "cultural workers," engineers, officials, "shock workers"; and the classless society is no longer the ideal for an universal Soviet society. The third issue contains a long and sympathetic account of Russian saints : martyrs, hermits, pastors, spiritual directors. Is there not perhaps reason to hope that a rapprochement is more likely to come from such studies, than from an acrimonious revival of out-worn controversies?

In no. I, N. WEIDLE maintains, in an article on Russia and Europe, that Russia is never less European than when most

Slavophile—the more it is Russian, the more it is European as Shakespeare in England and Pascal in France: deriving from a common source and contributing to a common treasure. The same issue contains a somewhat discouraging report from the pen of C. DUMONT on the Theological Congress of Orthodox held at Athens, 29th November—3rd December, 1936. In the following number the same writer writes an account of the Roman Conference of Catholic organizations working for the Christian Orient, May 6th to 9th, 1937, in which the two-fold mission of our work is clearly expressed.

Other outstanding articles are those by M. J. CONGAR on the Catholicity of the Church (no. II), and by YAROSLAV on the Investiture of John the Terrible with the Tsardom in 1547 by the Patriarch of Constantinople in virtue of the primacy of Rome as represented by Byzantium.

The documentary supplement in each issue is of surpassing interest and importance for the student who would understand the changing conditions of religious and ethical problems in Soviet Russia and the Russia diaspora, as well as the relations between Orthodox theology and movements for Catholic—and non-Catholic—union. So full are these pages of first-hand information that it is impossible to give here even a summary: the intelligent reader must seek the original.

Review of reviews and books has been added and expanded. These reviews seem to be authoritative and trustworthy.

DOM THOMAS RIGBY.

#### NON-CATHOLIC REVIEWS

*The Christian East.* Vol. XVI Nos. 3 and 4, 1936, and Vol. XVII Nos. 1 and 2, 1937.

Both the belated double number of 1936 and the first issue for the year 1937 are full of current interest. A certain amount of the news, however, here given has been already dealt with in these pages.

In the first number, *A Rumanian Journey* contains a very detailed account of present-day church conditions in that country. Father Shearburn describes the monasteries he visited, the different people he met, from the Patriarchal vicar general, Bishop Veniamin, the bishops and abbots, the simple priests, monks and nuns, down to the peasant people. He stayed in Bucarest; he travelled in Bessarabia and Transylvania, and among other places he was in Chisinau

with its thousand theological students (about the same number at Bucarest and again at Cernaut—these students, however, by no means all intend to become priests ; theology opens the door to innumerable teaching positions), and there is opportunity, so he tells us, for the Anglican students to spend a further year of training, studying and learning Orthodox life, theology and thought. (Some are already so doing). There are many other things recounted. We have dwelt on this article at length because it throws some light on to the actual working of the Anglo-Rumanian rapprochement.

Professor Kartashov writes a most illuminating article on *The Russian Church during the Synodal period of her History*. Having described how the Church lived for two hundred years under the régime of a secular lay State ; how Peter the Great exploited the ready victory over an already shattered theocracy, made possible, to a large extent, by the schism of the old-believers ; how the Church had lost the cultural strata of the nation and did not find much support from the lower ranks of the people, the priest often being estranged from them ; these, then, being the conditions of the period, he asks the question : “Was the Church crushed by all that, or not ? Did the period of the Holy Synod become a period of decay ?” “Many among us,” he says, “would answer in the affirmative ; I for my own part dare affirm just the contrary. The Russian Church was suffering under the burden of the régime, but she overcame it from within.”

He then goes on to verify his thesis : first the progress was due to the expansion of the Empire, the internal numerical increase of the population, and then to the missionary work of the Church. The nineteenth century was indeed the period of the expansion and missionary effort of the Russian Church : in Finland, North Siberia, among the Letts and Estonians, then in China and Japan, in Alaska and Persia. Part of this indeed was Government policy, but part also real Christian missionary zeal. And besides this expansion he tells of the birth of scholarship, of culture, of theology, and lastly he points to the best test of the real vitality of the Church, namely sanctity and a spiritual revival in the monasteries.

Thus Kartashov develops the point made by the eminent historian Goloubinsky :—“The present period of St. Petersburg . . . is a period of introduction to us of genuine enlightenment and, of course, at the same time of a more perfect understanding of Christendom.”

But perhaps the most valuable contribution to this number is Mr. Hubert Riley’s translations of hymns from the Holy Qurbana Order of the Syrian Church of Malabar.

Although we have not exhausted the contents of the first issue we pass on to the second, that of January—July, 1937. This contains more official matter.

*The Implementation of the Bucharest Report by the Convocations of Canterbury and York.*

In 1936 we gave the salient points of *The Church of England Delegation to Rumania*, (vid. E.C.Q., Vol. I, No. 2, pp. 54–57, and No. 3, pp. 109–113). In this issue of *The Christian East* the letter of the Archbishop of Canterbury to the Rumanian Patriarch of February, 1937, is given, together with the enclosed Memorandum in which are given the results of the two Convocations on the doctrinal statements contained in the Bucharest Report.

In May, 1936, the Convocation of York passed the following resolution :—

“ That this Synod thankfully accepts and approves the Report and trusts that it may lead to yet closer relations with the Rumanian Church and other branches of the Orthodox Communion.”

And the Convocation of Canterbury :—

“ That this House, while adjourning further consideration of the Report, expresses its thanks to the members of the Rumanian Commission and of the Anglican Delegation for preparing it, and trusts that it may lead to yet closer relations with the Rumanian Church and other branches of the Orthodox Communion.”

In January, 1937, the Convocation of Canterbury having considered the Report passed this Resolution :—

“ That inasmuch as the Report of the Conference at Bucharest between the Rumanian Commission on relations with the Anglican Communion and the Church of England Delegation appointed by the Archbishop of Canterbury is consonant with the Anglican formularies and a legitimate interpretation of the faith of the Church as held by the Anglican Communion, this House accepts and approves of the Report.”

The archbishop at the end of his letter says :—

“ It is the hope of myself and all of who have the unity of the Church of Christ at heart that the agreement already reached may lead to further progress along the road to that full intercommunion between the Church of England and the Orthodox Churches of the East, which is the burden of our prayers and the goal of all our efforts.”

The recent Report of the Doctrinal Commission of the Church of England will certainly make the road to *full intercommunion* very far off and perhaps throw a new light on these resolutions of the Houses of Convocation !

The text of the Proposed Concordat between the Holy See and the kingdom of Jugoslavia together with the letter of protest of the late Patriarch Varnava are printed. No comment is made. We would advise those who wish to have a complete view of the affair to read Miss A. Christitch's article, *The Yugoslav Concordat* in *The Month* of September, 1937, in conjunction with these documents.

There are three articles about the position of the Assyrians, (one of these is in the first issue). One is the account of the Rev. L. F. Hooper who, on behalf of the Bible Society, visited the refugee camps with the result that the Society are distributing the following books :—

80 copies of the Syriac (Ancient) Psalms, for use at the Liturgy.

120 copies of the Syriac (Modern) Bible.

12,000 copies of the Syriac (Modern) New Testament.

620 copies of the French New Testament.

620 copies of the Arabic IV Gospels (one volume).

There is also a translation from a militant nationalist Arab journal, *Saout-ul-Abrar*, which shows the real misery in which the Assyrians live in Khatom. Towards the end of the article this appeal is made :—

“ We will leave politics alone, and merely in the name of humanity demand that justice be done to these human cattle, that they be rescued from the claws of famine and disease, and let us not believe there is any man however stony-hearted who approves of the murder of eleven thousand souls in this style ! ”

Distribution of Bibles is good, but something more is demanded.

The Great Archimandrite Constantinides writes a very interesting and satisfying article on *The Holy Eucharist*. He treats the subject under the three headings of : Holy Eucharist, Holy Communion, and bloodless sacrifice (*Ἄνιματι θυσία*). We will quote two passages that will give the doctrinal trend of the rest. First as regards the Real Presence :—

“ Following in the steps of the Holy Fathers, the Orthodox Church neither felt any doubt as to the real presence of Our Lord in the Holy Sacrament, nor has ever tried to define the way in which the elements of bread and wine are changed into the Body and Blood of Jesus Christ. The mind of the Church concerning these two points is magnificently expressed . . . by the seventh Ecumenical Council, which has declared : ‘ Neither our Lord nor His Apostles nor the Fathers described as a picture the bloodless sacrifice offered by the priest, but as the very Body and

the very Blood. And after the consecration, they are and are believed to be the real Body and Blood of Christ.' " Then as regards the Sacrifice he says :—

" When, therefore, our Lord identifies the consecrated wine in the cup with His blood shed upon the Cross, it follows that for Him they are both equal and identical and consequently the sacrifice upon the Cross is equal and identical with the Sacrament committed to His Apostles at the Last Supper. May we believe that the Sacrament of the Body and Blood of Christ is the continuation itself of his incarnation and His redemptive work . . . I should like to quote what a great Byzantine religious and scholar of the fourteenth century says on the matter : ' On the sacred rite of the Eucharist, the whole incarnation of Christ is written in the bread as on a writing tablet. For as in a figure we behold Him as a babe, and led to death, and crucified, and pierced in His side : then also the bread itself changed into that all-holy Body which really endured this, and rose from the dead, and was taken into heaven, and sitteth on the right hand of the Father . . . And so the whole celebration of the Mystery is as one image of the whole body of the economy of our Lord ' . . . The Holy Eucharist is therefore a representative sacrifice and secondly a real one. It is a representation of the sacrifice upon the cross, for through the consecrated Bread and Wine it represents the sacrifice upon Calvary. On the other hand, it is a real and proper sacrifice, for our Lord is really present under the bread and wine according to the unanimous testimony, both of the New Testament and the Holy Tradition and the conscience of the Catholic Church of all the ages.' "

*Sobornost*, March—December, 1937 (Nos. 9–12).

In the March issue there are three articles dealing in one way or another with social order.

Some extracts from Prince E. N. Troubetzkoy's "*A Philosophy in Paint*" are given ; a most interesting study of the eikons in a Russian church from the point of view of "soborny." This passage is a fair summary of the theme :—

" The idea of this new order of creation, full of harmony, where the bloody struggle for existence will come to an end, and all creation with man at its head will be gathered into the Church, has been so often developed both in architecture and in painting, that it leaves no doubt that the Ancient Russian conception of the Church is that of an assembly (a sobor) not of saints and angels only, but of the whole creation."

Alongside of this article should be read E. I. Watkin's *The Transfiguration of the Cosmos* (in the June number), and the review of Father Bulgakov's *The Wisdom of God* ("Footnotes—After Two Years" in the December number).

To return to the March issue, the sketch of *The Theological Task of the Fellowship* with its suggestions as to the lines to be explored: *Problem of Creation*; *Ecclesiology*; *Ascetic Theology*; contrast of Western (the "imitation of Christ") and Eastern (the transfiguration of the soul by the indwelling of the Spirit); *Liturgiology*; the recovery of the true corporate expression of the Eucharist, and *Sociology*; all most excellent points for discussion. Then the paper on *The OEcumenical Doctrine of the Eucharistic Presence* (already noted in another issue of the E.C.Q.), of the Revd. A. Herbert Rees.

In the June issue, Nicolas Zernov deals with Khomiakov's place in the history of Christian thought.

The September number is to a large extent taken up with the Conference at High Leigh. The conference approached the thesis *The Praying Church* and dealt with it in papers on *The Priesthood of Christ* (by Dr. Rawlinson, Bishop of Derby, and Father Cassian); *Prayer and the Eucharist* (Father Bulgakov and Canon Newbolt); *The Communion of Saints* (Father E. K. Talbot, C.R., and Father George Florovsky). In addition to these papers the Conference split up into various seminars considering such subjects as "Orthodox Services," "Doctrinal Differences," "The Spirit of Orthodoxy" and "The Church and the World." When it is also remembered that the Holy Liturgy was celebrated each day it is not to be wondered at that the Fellowship is a living and growing body and one that promises much future good.

The December copy has among other contents a study of the ascetic Eastern tradition in regard to *The Gift of Tears*, by Father Lev.

There is a correction we would make in regard to a statement (p. 32) made that Soloviev, having secretly joined the Roman Church, yet before his death, "he repented of this act and was restored to full communion with the Orthodox Church through Confession and Holy Communion." The facts are that, as is stated, he was reconciled with Rome, but at his deathbed he made his confession to and received communion from an Orthodox priest since there was no Catholic priest to be had. This is, however, quite in accordance with ordinary Catholic practice and is no sign of his retracting from his Roman obedience.

In conclusion we would venture a comparison between *The Christian East* and *Sobornost*. The first stands for the official work concerning bringing about relations between

the Church of England and the Orthodox Church, hence it publishes official documents and also gives well chosen sketches about those Orthodox Churches with which it is hoped that such relations will be brought about; a necessary work. Whereas *Sobornost* is really trying to deal with the vital problems of the approach of East and West. For this the Fellowship of St. Alban and St. Sergius is responsible. One notices that of late members of the Fellowship are writing in *The Christian East*. This, we think, is a sign that the importance of the work is at last being more generally acknowledged.

DOM BEDE WINSLOW.

### *The Russian American Orthodox Messenger.*

This monthly periodical is published in Russian, under the editorship of the Very Rev. Father Buketov in New York. It is the official organ of Metropolitan Theophily, who holds in America a position rather similar to that of Metropolitan Eulogy in Europe, though he is not the representative of the Patriarch of Constantinople. Each number of the "Messenger" contains sixteen pages divided into two parts, the "official" part giving the usual decrees and dispositions of the metropolitan and the other bishops, the "unofficial" part containing various articles, news and correspondence.

Judging by the businesslike style of the periodical and especially the long pages of financial accounts in the January number, one is inclined to think that the Russians in America are not immune from American influences! In the same January number there is an interesting article "Reflections of an Orthodox Christian on reading the Catholic periodical *The Voice of the Church*"; it is just a resumé of the ordinary classical objections against the Catholic doctrine of the unity of the Church and the Papacy. A similar article also appears in the September number.

In each number from March to the end of the year there is an account of the foundation of the famous Russian-American Orthodox mission in Alaska, and the saintly monk Herman who started the monastery there. In most of the numbers there are extracts from the diary of Bishop Macarius who went from America to Belgrade for the synod of the Russian Orthodox bishops there in 1936 and incidentally visited many of the Orthodox colonies in Europe. It is interesting to see how this bishop makes careful note of all the small differences of rubrics in the various Byzantine churches he visits. Even the most minute differences of ceremonial are described, and he does not spare criticism of the liberties taken with the rubrics in certain parts of Europe.

Most numbers of the *Messenger* give news of the religious movement in Soviet Russia, quoting Bolshevik newspapers to show that religion is still practised, though in secret. Even among the children in the Bolshevik schools the anti-religious propaganda is a failure.

From 1905 till 1923 there was an Orthodox seminary in America, founded by Patriarch Tikhon when he was there. The need of re-opening this seminary is felt and most of the Orthodox churches in America are prepared to help and to send their students to it. This question, together with that of the constitution of the synod of "the Russian Orthodox Church in North America," the schools, a house for the Metropolitan, and the debt on the cathedral, show that the Orthodox in America have a hard struggle to keep up.

The July number has a very unusual type of article, replying to twenty-one accusations against Bishop Leonty, three of which concern his having participated in the Velehrad Congress with Catholics and having Catholic tendencies. The writer of the article insists that Bishop Leonty was sent to Velehrad officially by Metropolitan Theophily and quotes the letter which appeared in THE EASTERN CHURCHES QUARTERLY last January. There is nothing against Orthodox participating in the Velehrad Congresses, since the Holy Synod itself used to send representatives to it.

A most interesting controversy is going on concerning the advantages and disadvantages of the new, i.e. quasi-Gregorian calendar. The editor of the *Messenger* writes often urging the adoption of the New Calendar in all Orthodox churches in America. His reasons are very practical. On big feasts such as Christmas, American Orthodox are unable to go to church if the feast is celebrated according to the Old Calendar (Julian). It falls generally on an ordinary week-day and they have their work to do as usual. The poor clergy lose about 40 dollars collection. His adversaries urge that such an ancient tradition should not be dropped for a mere question of material gain, to which the editor replies that in the present state of need of the priests we should rejoice at any way of helping even materially. He also gives a number of other advantages of the New Calendar.

The periodical has just completed its thirty-third year of existence.

*Chleb nebesni* (Bread from Heaven), 1937. A monthly published by the monks of the Russian Orthodox monastery of Our Lady of Kazan, in Harbin, Manchuria.

This illustrated periodical, which only made its first appearance in 1936, has usually about 25 pages on very poor quality

paper. Although an Orthodox seminary is attached to the monastery, the articles deal almost exclusively with devotional and moral subjects and rarely with theology. Most of the numbers contain articles in keeping with the liturgical feasts of the time, lives of saints or other devotional reading, a chronicle of events, sermons and religious poems. Occasionally articles appear on apologetical questions, for example, the series "Religion and Science," but these are only popular expositions and not very profound.

The January and February numbers give a long, interesting supplement, an account of the journey of Bishop Dimitry to the Syrian Orthodox Church. In 1935 at the Orthodox Synod in Karlov, Metropolitan Anastasius explained that in Palestine in 1934 the Jacobite Indian (Monophysite) Catholicos Gregory Basil had expressed his wish to unite with the Orthodox Church, so the synod sent Bishop Dimitry of Harbin to Travancore in India, where there are 300,000 Jacobites. Among them are also some Russian emigrants with their priest, who acted as interpreter (into English) for Bishop Dimitry. The bishop says that the Jacobites are quite ready to accept the doctrine of the Council of Chalcedon (condemning Monophysitism) but they refuse to agree to the condemnation of Dioscorus, whom they revere as a great saint. They acknowledged the first three Councils and "respected" the other four. Bishop Dimitry says that the full acceptance of all the seven Councils is a "conditio sine qua non" of union with the Orthodox. Another big obstacle to reunion was that they had had long litigations with the Jacobite Patriarch of Antioch; should the Catholicos and his faithful accept the Orthodox faith, the Patriarch would try to deprive them of their church property.

In Harbin the clergy have been struggling hard against the anti-God propaganda. Several pages in each number are devoted to this subject, describing the methods which are being used, *e.g.*, public protests, demonstrations in which sometimes 10,000 people have taken part—Catholics together with the Orthodox, special prayers in schools, "weeks" and "days" of public profession of faith in God, etc., etc. News is given of similar efforts in other countries.

Usually one or two articles in each number are devoted to important events in the Orthodox Church, such as the Congress of theologians in Athens, the Concordat in Yugoslavia, the death of the Serbian Patriarch Barnabas, the attacks against the Church in Russia, etc. Similarly events of local importance are always described, *e.g.*, the seminary's academies, visitors, etc. Quite a long description of the

visit of Father Albert Valensin, who seems to have made a very friendly impression among the Orthodox there, is given in the July number. THE EASTERN CHURCHES QUARTERLY described the visit last October.

The February number has an interesting article entitled "General Confession," in which is given a list of over 500 kinds of sin. The other articles, not mentioned above, are of no special interest and treat chiefly of devotions.

F. WILCOCK, S.J.

## NEWS AND COMMENTS

Those who wish their copies of the EASTERN CHURCHES QUARTERLY (1936-1937) to be bound should apply to Geo. E. J. Coldwell, Ltd., 17, Red Lion Passage, London, W.C.1. Full dark olive-green cloth, white edges, gilt lettering on spine, 4s. per volume.

### U.S.A.

We congratulate *The Chrysostom* on its renewed life. The last issue to reach us in 1937 was that of the month of May, and we have now before us the first two issues of Volume IV of this year. We trust sincerely that it has passed its time of crisis and that it will get a real backing from American Catholics. Its address is now 611 Sinclair Street, McKeesport, Pa.

Some time ago we announced that the Patriarch-Katholikos of Babylon had, at the request of the Cardinal Archbishop of Chicago and of the Sacred Eastern Congregation, sent from Irak to Chicago a Chaldean priest, Father Francis Thomay, with the mission of organizing the faithful of his rite and building them a church in that city. Father Thomay, we learn from a friend of his, has met with very great difficulties, both foreseen and unforeseen, and now at the end of two and a half years is still without a church or even the beginning of one. We accordingly appeal particularly to our American readers to come to his help and to take an interest in him and his work. It has an historical interest as well as a most pressing spiritual one; this church, which is to be dedicated in honour of the Chaldean doctor St. Ephrem, whose feast we Latins keep on June 18th, will be the first of the Chaldean rite ever built in any part of the western hemisphere, and Father Thomay intends to furnish it strictly in accordance with that rite. There are some 750 Catholic Chaldeans in the U.S.A., many of whom have, for

want of this church and a priest, been drifting away from their religion. Father Thomay's address is The Alexian Brothers' Hospital, 1200 Belden Avenue, Chicago.

### STUDENT GROUP IN LIVERPOOL

Since January a small group of students interested in the Eastern Churches has met in Liverpool; they number at present nine members.

One of their chief cares will be the building up of a library of books dealing with the subject. They also propose to model themselves on the Society of St. John Chrysostom and the name "Society of St. Cyril of Alexandria" has been tentatively suggested. At present this is only an unofficial group. Those interested should write to the Secretary, Mr. J. Angus, 72 Queensland Street, Liverpool.

### ORIGIN OF THE EASTERN SCHISM

Writing in the *Revue Catholique des Idées et des Faits*, Henri Grégoire, Professor at the Brussels University, summarizes the conclusions arrived at by the Catholic historians Dvornik, Grumel, Jugie, and Amann, and states that the Catholic version of the origin of the Eastern schism is legendary from beginning to end and must be entirely rewritten. The responsibility for the legend falls on Cardinal Baronius (sixteenth century) who, in perfect good faith, copied the wrong sources. The quarrel between Photius and Pope Nicholas I was not dogmatic, as Baronius asserts, but purely political, the Pope claiming the return of Illyricum, St. Peter's patrimony in Calabria and Sicily, and the Latin jurisdiction over Bulgaria, which had been wrested from Rome, and the patriarchs of Constantinople refusing to comply with the Pope's demands. From this domestic and matter-of-fact party wrangle arose the sorry story of excommunications, misunderstandings, and finally the *Filioque* afterthought, which was intended to give the quarrel a more serious turn, but had, in point of fact, nothing at all to do with it.

Not only are the two schisms of Photius declared to be historical myths, but Father Jugie, writing in *Echos d'Orient*, concludes from his researches that the Catholic version of the schism and heresy of Cerularius is pure fabrication; what happened was that the Pope's legates excommunicated the patriarch when their powers had lapsed, since the Pope who had sent them was dead; that they excommunicated him without understanding what the Patriarch asserted, and fathered a heresy on him which he had never

held ; and that they knew as little about their theology as about their canon law. The writer states that the Catholic experts have pursued their researches with the special encouragement of the present pope, in the hope that this gesture of scientific honesty and justice will pave the way to reconciliation and reunion. (Quoted in *The Tablet*, February 26th, 1938).

In *The Dublin Review* of January, 1938, and in *Blackfriars* of the same date, there have appeared two articles that call for attention. In the former, Father J. H. Ryder, S.J., writes of "Western Missioners in Eastern Rites" and in the latter Father Gervase Mathew, O.P., writes on "Patristic Revival." Both are very timely from the point of view of information, giving English Catholics some idea of the method of approach that should be taken to the Christian East, a method that has the special blessing of all the recent popes. But we think they have a further value, that of showing to our non-Catholic brethren, and the Orthodox among them, the real justification of the Catholics of Eastern Rites, and the real use (if their training is sound) that they could be in the work of reunion and even in the work of the "Œcumical Movement." In these remarks we are considering primarily priests.

In the January of 1920 an encyclical letter was published from the patriarchate of Constantinople *Unto all the Churches of Christ wheresoever they be*. This was a very eirenic document, yet even here is mentioned in veiled terms our "Uniate propaganda," though at the same time it sets out a number of suggestions by which Christian Churches should get to know one another, e.g., "by intercourse between theological schools and ecclesiastical periodicals and works published in each Church ; by the impartial and more historical examination of doctrinal differences, both from the Chair and in theological treatises ; by a more friendly intercourse between the representatives of the various Churches wherever they may be."

The situation seems to us to be as follows :

There is an inherent suspicion on the part of the Orthodox that Catholics of the Eastern Rites are part of a grand plan to bring the Christian East under the uniformity of Rome. There are historical reasons which give colour to these suspicions, cases of latinization in the past and also in the present. That now, however, a new era has dawned, these two articles are proof. Father Ryder at the end of this paper enumerates the various Western religious orders, members of which are adapting themselves to the Byzantine rite with

a view to showing that the Slav and Byzantine culture and mentality are able to flourish within the universality of the See of Rome. This adoption of an Eastern rite is now conceived as no mere ritual change, some external other way of celebrating Mass, but the studying of the "language of the people, their history, their institutions, psychology and theology," so runs "the charge" of Pope Pius XI that established the Benedictine Priory of Amay. And Father Ryder, speaking of the rite in connection with Russians, says : "Instruction through ritual, both doctrinal and ascetic, plays a very important part in Russian religious life. Spiritual psychology is social ; rite and interior life are inseparable. Spiritual direction is imparted rather to the masses in the execution of the liturgical offices." That these ideas are being gripped in the West, if only by the leaders of a movement, is something, and must eventually react in the theological schools both of the Latin West and of the Latin-minded Uniate East, to the ultimate good of both.

It is at this juncture that we turn to Father Mathew's article. He writes not as an Eastern Missioner but as a Thomist intent on the objective knowledge of patristic thought. The following quotations are very much to the point :—"Only a decadent Thomist would think it treason to supplement St. Thomas from the Fathers. To St. Thomas it would be the inevitable corollary of his conception of patristics as a source. Ultimately the theology of the *Summa* is a synthesis between the Augustinianism of the eleventh century scholastics and the new knowledge of the Greek Fathers that was slowly drifting westward. A revival in patristic theology would only bring a clearer understanding of St. Thomas's theological thought." Speaking more directly of the value of the patristic revival in itself, he says :—"A patristic revival might imply a return to Byzantine theology not as a system but as a source. A clear realization of the implications of the doctrine of the Mystical Body is the pre-requisite to any vital progress in our apprehension of Christian dogma, spirituality and ethic. In the Divine economy of the Church it was perhaps the function of the last Greek Fathers to aid such realisation. The limitations of a corporate orientalized culture, which in so many ways had stunted them, drove them to emphasize a conception of the Church as a corporate unity with the Divine. *Theosis, henosis*, to be divinized, to become One, were the recurrent motifs of their thought. Perhaps they could become motifs in our own. For we know that all Christian life has its meaning from the participation in the Divine nature we name grace, and we know that the meaning of a Christian ethic

is to act as Christ has acted and to choose as Christ has chosen."

This brief review of these two articles should surely make it clear that whatever faults there may have been in the past on the part of the Catholic West in its method of approaching the Christian East, the present tendency is to realise the great value of the Christian tradition of the East, often not fully developed, and, realising it, to drink of the newly discovered fountains of life. May its vitality help in the building up of the City of God.

### THE ITALO-ALBANIANS

The Byzantine rite has been used in Sicily since the early Middle Ages. The Byzantine communities there remained loyal to the Holy See at the time of the great schism of the East. At the close of the Middle Ages, however, they were dwindling away, and probably they would have disappeared long ago had not refugees from Albania given them fresh life. The first Albanians, driven from their country by the Turks, settled in Sicily towards the end of the fifteenth century. At the present day the Christians of oriental rite living in Italy and the neighbouring islands are almost all of Albanian stock. It is usual to speak of them as Italo-Albanians. There are 35,000 of them on the mainland and 15,850 in Sicily (statistics of 1932). There are two sees: that of Lungro (*Lungrensis Graecorum*), for the mainland, having a residential bishop, was set up on February, 13th, 1919; that of Piana dei Greci (*Pianensis Graecorum*), for Sicily, was set up on October 26th, 1937. Both sees are subject to the Oriental Congregation. At present Cardinal Lavitrano is apostolic administrator of the see of Piana dei Greci; and his auxiliary, Mgr. Perniciaro, is ordaining bishop of the Byzantine rite for Sicily.

A very large part of Dr. Fortescue's book on *The Uniate Eastern Churches* (1923) is devoted to the history of the Byzantine communities in Italy.

### A BRIEF STATEMENT OF THE PLACE OF THE VIRGIN MARY IN THE THOUGHT AND WORSHIP OF THE ORTHODOX CHURCH.

(PRESENTED TO SECTION IVc OF THE EDINBURGH CONFERENCE  
BY THE ARCHPRIEST SERGIUS BULGAKOV, D.D.).

The veneration of Our Lady in the Orthodox Church rests not on any dogmatic definitions besides the definition of the Third Ecumenical Council, as the Mother of God (*theotokos*) but rather on the tradition of piety, explained

dogmatically in theological doctrine. Despite this fact this veneration has so important a place in the whole life of the Orthodox Church that it cannot be passed over in silence. For according to Orthodox feeling, nothing in the church can be achieved without her blessing and intercession. The main idea in this veneration is, of course, the incarnation of the Logos taken from its human side. The Mother of God, is, so to say, the personal humanity of Christ from which is taken his human nature; and in this sense she is the representative of all humankind in its dignity and sanctity predestined for the Incarnation. In that sense she is the "Second Eve," the flower on the tree of humanity, the ripest fruit of the whole history of the Old Testament church. She represents the free will of the handmaid of God which was given in obedience to the will of God. Her participation in the Incarnation of the Logos is in that sense necessary and essential, and was overshadowed by the Holy Spirit in the Annunciation and became His perpetual dwelling, the "Spirit-bearer."

The Incarnation is achieved through the action of two persons of the Holy Trinity: of the Holy Spirit who is incarnating the Logos, and the Logos himself who is incarnated; and through the action of the blessed woman who was able and holy enough to receive the conception of the Logos. Through this action of God himself, the Mother of God in the Incarnation came into perpetual, eternal and indissoluble connection and nearness with the Lord Incarnate. This idea is expressed in her eikon, in which she is depicted usually with the Child in her arms. This is actually the eikon of the Incarnation. In that aspect she is not only an individual human personality, but the whole of humanity, its personal head and representative, its Heart and its Holy of Holies. She belongs to this humanity and as its representative she shares its destinies in original sin as the common sickness of mankind, resulting in mortality. She needs salvation herself, and she recognises God as her Saviour. (Luke i, 47). But she does not realize the original sin in personal sins because she is holy and sinless even from her nativity (which is celebrated in the Orthodox Church as a great feast) and particularly after the Annunciation, which means her personal Pentecost.

As the Mother of Christ, who gave Him flesh and humanity, she is glorified and resurrected by her Son, as exalted, and, as is said: "is seated at the right of Christ." She does not cease to belong to the created world, which is not left by her, but she is in the state of the last glorification which is pre-destined for the creature. She is not subject even to the

Last Judgement, to which even angels are subject. She is there present merely for the propitiating of her Son who will be the Judge.

She is glorified by the Church as the Queen of Heaven and earth. That means that she is in a certain sense the centre of the whole created universe, of all elements. Of course, she is no "goddess," but a creature herself, and she has this power because of the grace of God which abides upon her in full degree.

In that sense she is

"more honourable and glorious than the  
Cherubim and Seraphim, exalted above  
all angels, and surpasses the Saints."

To her and through her our prayers to her Son are raised, although this does not mean that we are not able to pray to God directly and personally. Yet even in our personal prayers we always are connected with our Mother who is the Mother of our Saviour. The Blessed Virgin belongs to the *Communio Sanctorum* as the head of this holy company. But at the same time she cannot be simply included or identified with it because of her personal nearness to Christ and her complete glorification.

This whole practice of piety and the corresponding teaching is given us only in a limited degree in the Holy Scriptures, in spite of the fact that the main ideas of the Incarnation from the Virgin Mary are given in it, and are recognised in creeds (Apostolic and Nicene). The further development of the veneration of the Blessed Virgin is due to the Holy Tradition, to the inspiration in the life of the Church, which is of certain religious self-evidence. It has an axiomatic character, as a necessary conclusion from the experience of the church which was and is enriched from age to age.

Of course this piety absolutely excludes even any thought of the possibility for Mary after the Annunciation and Nativity of Christ to have had a husband and children by human marriage. She is not only Virgin and Mother of Christ, but still more: EVER-VIRGIN (*Aei-parthenos*). That means that in her is restored the original virginity and purity of mankind which is proper to it in its creation.

This we have taken in its entirety from *Sobornost* (December, 1937), as it shows more than anything else the valuable work done at the Edinburgh Conference by the Orthodox.—EDITOR.

## LETTERS TO THE EDITOR

### RITES IN SYRIA.

DEAR REVEREND FATHER,

The letter sent by Mar Hauna Hebbe to the *Catholic Herald* of September 10th, 1937, and reproduced in an abridged form in the EASTERN CHURCHES QUARTERLY of January, 1938, concerns a problem which is being much discussed nowadays. The isolation from one another of the different Eastern Catholic communities is certainly a cause of weakness, and a remedy for this state of affairs is felt to be necessary. A first step has recently been taken by the official establishment of Catholic Action in Beirut. This was inaugurated by a solemn Byzantine Liturgy celebrated by the Melkite metropolitan, Lord Maximos Sayegh, in the Maronite cathedral of Saint George and presided over by His Eminence Ignatius Gabriel, Cardinal Tappuni, Syrian Patriarch of Antioch, in the presence of His Excellency Mgr. Rémi Léprêtre, apostolic delegate; and of course all the Catholic communities of the city were represented.

One solution proposed is the creation of a panritual reformed branch of the Order of St. Basil. This might be possible under certain conditions. Let us note in the first place that the idea of an "Order of St. Basil" is a Western importation foreign to the genuine monastic traditions of the East. In the second place, it should be remembered that the solemn celebration of the Liturgy and the daily Choir Office is essential from both a monastic and an Oriental point of view. This would not be possible in a panritual community unless its members were very numerous. In this case, a precedent would be found in ancient times in the monasteries of St. Sabba and St. Theodosius, near Jerusalem, in which each national group sang the Office in a separate chapel according to its own rite and in its own language, but all assembled in the great church for the common Liturgy (which, before the byzantinization of the Melkite patriarchates, was that of St. James). But it might be possible to found a panritual monastic congregation with distinct monasteries for each rite.

I think, however, that we should go down to the roots of the problem and ask ourselves what are the real causes of the present co-existence of several Catholic hierarchies and rites on the same territory. These causes are two-fold: first, the politico-religious controversies which divided the Christian East from the fifth to the eighth centuries; and secondly, the abandonment by the Melkites, between the tenth and the thirteenth centuries, of their native Alexandrine

and Antiochene rites and their adoption of the Byzantine under the influence of Constantinople—an influence which was for their undoing, for it caused them to drift away from Catholic Unity. When various groups of dissident Eastern Christians returned to the Church, the particularist spirit resulting from many centuries of separation both from the West and from one another was so strong that it was found practically impossible to unite them in a single community, and the multiplicity of Catholic jurisdictions and rites in each locality was found to be a necessity. This state of affairs of course pleased the Turkish Government, who found therein a means of putting into practice the maxim : "divide et impera." But conditions have since changed. The countries which formed the Ottoman Empire have become distinct states. On the other hand, Moslem hostility and Protestant and Communist propaganda are making the formation of a united Catholic front urgent.

It seems to me that the best solution would be the restoration, in each patriarchate, katholikosate and eparchy, of hierarchical and liturgical unity on an historical basis according to the old principle : "rite follows Patriarchate." Thus the distinction between Melkites, Syrians and Maronites would disappear ; there would be simply the Catholics of the patriarchate of Antioch as in the fourth century, united under one patriarch and all following the Antiochene rite. In the same way there would be only one patriarch of Jerusalem, also of the Jerusalem-Antiochene rite ; while all the Catholic of Egypt would follow the Alexandrine rite under the jurisdiction of a single patriarch of Alexandria.

This suggestion will of course be contested by many at the present time, but I know several Eastern Catholics who would like to see it realized. It may be necessary for the Melkites to keep the Byzantine rite for some time to come as a temporary measure in order to make the return of the Orthodox to Catholic Unity easier ; but perhaps the spectacle, in each patriarchate, of a strong Catholic community hierarchically and liturgically united would make a deep impression on our separated brethren and hasten their reconciliation with the See of Peter.

However that may be, I think two measures might be possible in a relatively near future as a preliminary step towards the realization of the complete unity advocated above : first, that the Maronites return to the pure form of the Antiochene rite (and a desire for so doing is gaining ground among them) and unite with the Syrians ; and secondly, that the Melkites of the patriarchates of Antioch and Jerusalem celebrate the Liturgy of Saint James on certain

days, and those of the patriarchate of Alexandria that of Saint Mark on similar occasions. They would thus recover at least a part of their ancient liturgical traditions.

Yours truly,

ANTIOCHENUS.

The following letter of appeal has been sent us by the Superior of the Syrian Patriarchal Seminary at Sharfeh and we recommend it earnestly to our readers.—EDITOR.

DEAR SIR,

We venture to make an appeal to your charity on behalf of the Syrian Patriarchal Seminary of Sharfeh, in the Lebanon.

This house was founded by Mar Michael Jarweh, who, having been converted to Catholicism and elected as patriarch of all the Syrians in the Jacobite monastery of Deir Za'pharan, near Mardin, was obliged, in 1782, to flee on account of two hostile bishops who threatened his life. After passing through Mosul and Bagdad, he crossed the vast Syrian desert on a camel, carrying with him, all the time, the eikon of our Lady of Deliverance, and after many dangers, arrived at Beit Shabab, in Lebanon, where he spent four months, living on alms received from the Maronite population there. In December 1784, he left Beit Shabab, and came to Sharfeh. (The name in Arabic means "an eminence," the place having a commanding view of the Mediterranean on the West, with Beirut to the South, and the mountains on the East). Six days after his arrival, he hired this house for six piastres a year. On July 15th, 1786, he decided to buy it for the sum of 2,632 piastres. The building at that time contained only three rooms. Having become owner of the house, he dedicated it to our Lady of Deliverance, because it was thanks to her that he had been delivered from so many dangers and persecutions. The eikon which he had carried with him in all his travels is still kept at Sharfeh, and is held in great veneration.

At the request of Mar Michael, presented to the Holy See through the medium of the Congregation of Propaganda Fide, Pope Pius VI, by a decree of May 22nd, 1787, confirmed to him and to his successors in the patriarchate the house of Sharfeh and its annexes, placing them under the direct protection of the Apostolic See, and threatening with excommunication "latae sententiae," absolution from which was reserved to the Sovereign Pontiff alone, all those who, under any pretext whatsoever, should dare to confiscate or alienate the said house.

It is from this house that have gone forth the greater number of the priests who have served the different eparchies of the Syrian Patriarchate of Antioch ever since the conversion of Mar Michael Jarweh. Several of those priests have suffered martyrdom for the Catholic Faith, especially during the War ; and it is an honour for me to count among them my uncle, Mar Flavianos Michael Malke, Bishop of Gezireh, who, having been consecrated with Mar Gabriel Tappuni (now patriarch and cardinal), was martyred in 1915 with all his clergy.

In 1929, the patriarch, in agreement with the bishops of his patriarchate, entrusted Sharfeh as Great Seminary to the Benedictine Fathers of the French Province of the Cassinese Congregation of the Primitive Observance, who have also the Preparatory Seminary in Jerusalem. It is at Sharfeh that the seminarists spend six years studying philosophy and theology, and since 1932 the house has already supplied twenty-one priests.

His Eminence the Cardinal-Patriarch has always attached very great importance to the liturgical formation of his priests, in order to correspond with the desires of the Holy Father, who holds the Eastern Rites in great veneration. The Syrian Church has always practised the Liturgy of Jerusalem and Antioch, one of the most ancient of the Eastern rites ; and the Syrians, together with the Maronites and the Chaldaeans, have kept as their principal liturgical language the Edessene Aramaic or Syriac, which, of all the liturgical languages used at the present day in the Church, is the most closely akin to the Palestinian Aramaic spoken by our Lord.

The practice of the Eastern rites in their purity and integrity is indispensable for the return of our separated brethren to Catholic Unity. This fact has not been sufficiently realized in the past, and hence it has come about that many groups of Eastern Catholics, for various causes, have not preserved entire their genuine liturgical traditions.

The Catholic Syrians have kept practically intact the pure Antiochene rite so far as their liturgical books are concerned, but the interior arrangement of their churches is not, in the majority of cases, in conformity with the requirements of that Rite, which prescribes especially that a screen with three doors and curtains be placed before the Holy of Holies. In the church at Sharfeh, there are neither screen nor curtains, and the general lack of good taste reminds one of a Latin Church into which the Western Liturgical movement has not yet penetrated.

It is for these reasons that his Eminence has often repeated to me the importance and urgency of a reform, both in the

interior of the Church, and in that of the "beth quaddishe" ("house of the saints"), the small chapel under which are the tombs of the patriarchs Mar Ignatios-Michael Jarweh (1782-1800), Mar Ignatios Butros Jarweh (1820-1851, nephew of Mar Michael), Mar Ignatios Sem'an Zora (1814-1818) and twelve Bishops.

The plan for the interior of the church has been drawn up and approved, and comprises the Royal Door and two other doors with the screen in wrought iron and curtains, the three altars with frescoes or mosaics, the pavement of the Holy of Holies, and the choir of the Seminarists.

We are quite unable to realize unaided these much-desired reforms, on account of the financial situation and the debts which the house was obliged to contract during the War, in order to nourish the seminarists from Jerusalem, Constantinople and Beirut, who remained here till the end of hostilities. Since then Sharfeh has never been able to defray those debts.

It is for the reason that we appeal to the charity of benefactors and lovers of the Liturgy to help us to accomplish this work for the greater glory of God and His Church, and we are confident that Our Lady of Deliverance will bless all those who come to our aid.

The following is the sum required for carrying out the above-mentioned reforms :

For the three doors with the screen and curtains	£125
For the High Altars (with cupola or dome and 4 columns)	£100
For the two side altars (each altar £75)	£150
For the pavements and steps of the Sanctuary and Choir	£75
For the Chapel	£125
 TOTAL	 £575

(This is calculated in Syrian money).

The Holy Sacrifice is offered every year for benefactors living and dead : and every day the priest who celebrates the principal Liturgy prays for them, and during the fifth and sixth diptychs signs their names, which are written on a card placed on the high altar.

ZACHARY MALKE

Chorepiscopus, Superior of the Patriarchal Seminary of Sharfeh.

## RECENT PUBLICATIONS

*The Ministry and the Sacraments.* Edited by Dr. R. Dunkerley and Dr. A. C. Headlam. (Student Christian Movement Press, 1937). pp. 549. 18s.

The volume consists of the Report of the Theological Commission appointed by the continuation Committee of the Faith and Order Movement together with the thirty-two papers that went to the compiling of this Report. These papers themselves are grouped under four headings; those giving the views of some sixteen different Churches on the question of the Ministry and the Sacraments; those on the Biblical basis of the question; four historical studies on the same; and three constructive statements.

Of the thirty scholars whose papers form part of this book, only ten were actually members of the commission.

Among those papers dealing with the doctrinal views of the different Churches is one by a Catholic, Dr. M. J. Vetter, of Berlin. This sets out to give the teaching of the Roman Church, and hence he gives, quite rightly, the tradition of Latin theology on the question. He divides his paper thus: *the position of the Sacraments in relation to the Truths of Grace*; and *the doctrine concerning the Sacraments with particular reference to the sacraments of Baptism and the Eucharist*. His treatment of the accusation that the sacraments are magic is particularly happy:—

“ *Necesse est dicere, sacramenta Novae Legis per aliquem modum gratiam causare.* (St. Thomas, III, Qu. 62, A.1). This, of course, does not mean that the Sacraments are *in themselves* (*per se*) sources of Grace, being material things such as water and oil. This would be detestable magic! In the Catholic teaching concerning the Sacraments, rightly understood, there is no trace of magic. There can be no question of magic because there is no ‘physical power’ at work in the Sacraments, but *a person: the living Christ*, whose reality in heaven and whose almighty power are recognised by the Catholic faith precisely through its doctrine concerning the Sacraments. It is Christ who has chosen the *signum visibile* (*res sensibus subjecta*) as His instrument, in order to fill the soul with that *invisibilis gratia*, of which the Sacrament is the visible *sign*.” (p. 53).

There are three papers by members of the Orthodox Church: Professor H. S. Alivisatos, Professor N. Arseniev and Father Sergius Bulgakov. Professor Alivisatos deals with the Orthodox view in general on which there is no need to comment. Professor Arseniev expounds the devotional

meaning of the Eucharist and draws his arguments from the Eastern Liturgies. But what is of great interest are the statements made by these two theologians on the Holy Sacrifice of the Mass. The former writes :—

“ The Sacrament of the Eucharist has of course also the meaning of a sacrifice, but not in the sense that this sacrifice is either a new sacrifice or a repetition of the once-for-all holy sacrifice on the Cross for mankind’s salvation. It means, on the contrary, the fact of representation of the same sacrifice, for the possibility of participating in the life-giving elements of the great Sacrifice of our Lord. The offering of this sacrifice of the Eucharist has been made since the times of the Apostolic and Primitive Church, not only for those present, but also for the absent faithful and also for the souls’ salvation of those departed from this world.” (pp. 73, 74).

Professor Arseniev says :—

“ Our Eucharist is the true representation of His true and continuous sacrifice, once for all time offered on the earth—on Golgotha, and perpetually presented to the Father on our behalf in Eternity. Not that He is brought down to us, it is rather we that are uplifted to His holy place, to the perpetual self-offering of the Lamb of God. That is the sense of the ‘iconostasis’—to emphasise the heavenly character of the sacrifice, its remoteness from earthlier things. He is the Victim and He Who offers it, the Lord of Glory, the High Priest, the Head and the true Representative of the human race ; we are but participants in His self-offering . . . In a word, the Lamb of God offering Himself willingly for the sacrifice stands in the centre of the whole liturgy. And at the same time, as we have seen, this suffering Lord is also the living, the glorified, and the risen Lord, and the whole Eucharist is illuminated by the radiance of His glory, the radiance of His resurrection.” (pp. 86 and 88).

Father Bulgakov’s paper treats of *the Hierarchy and the Sacraments*. It would take too much space to discuss this subject here ; like most of Father Bulgakov’s theses, there is much of truth set out in a new light, a light that has often been overlooked in the West ; yet at the same time, there is much that is mere speculation which would be repudiated by the larger number of Orthodox theologians. But although there is much with which we would disagree, we would admit he has opened out a line of thought that may well help to bring about some reconciliation between the Catholic and Protestant conceptions of the Ministry.

It is interesting to note that both Professor Alivisatos and Father Bulgakov stress the fact that Confirmation is an *episcopal Sacrament* although it is distributed through priests for the convenience of the faithful.

Dr. O. C. Quick sets forth the Anglican view on the Sacraments. He seems to think that official Anglican statements ought to be acceptable to theologians generally!

In speaking of the sacrificial aspect of the Eucharist, he says :—

“Here, I feel sure, there is no real ground for any serious divergence of doctrine among Christians who observe and reverence the Sacrament. We all believe that Christ sacrificed Himself for us on the Cross, and that the Eucharist is our abiding memorial of that all-sufficient sacrifice. We all believe, moreover, that the Christ Who was sacrificed ever lives, and that in the Eucharist He comes to us again, after a spiritual manner, to help us to follow Him in His self-sacrifice which we commemorate. None of us believes, on the other hand, that in the Eucharist either the sacrifice of the Cross is *repeated*, or that we offer Christ *instead of* ourselves. We may, indeed, all agree that the only sacrifice which God requires of us is, in the words of the Anglican Communion Service, the offering of ‘ourselves, our souls and bodies, to be a reasonable (*λογικός*) holy and living sacrifice’ unto Him. But . . . how can we offer it? . . . the Christian must answer: ‘Only when Christ enables us by faith to be partakers, sharers, communicants in His own Sacrifice which, offered once for all, yet for ever characterises His perfect manhood.’ The Eucharist, then, is the Sacrament of our communion in that sacrifice.” (p. 136).

This is not too satisfactory; it is only really clear in what it denies.

The other papers considering doctrinal views are all by different Protestant groups, Lutheran, Church of Scotland, Methodists, Baptists, etc.

Among those dealing with the Biblical basis of the question, the paper on textual data, and those of Dr. Rawlinson and Bishop Palmer are of the greatest interest. Of the four historical studies that of Professor F. Heiler is certainly the most useful; it is an exhaustive review of the doctrine of the undivided and mediæval Church. That on the Counter-Reformation is by a Catholic, Dr. B. Stasiewski of Berlin.

In conclusion we must say a few words on the report itself. This is made up of short disquisitions followed by statements agreed to by the members of the commission. Considering the different religious backgrounds of those taking part on the

commission, it is by no means a small thing that any agreement could be reached on this most difficult and controversial of subjects as the Ministry and the Sacraments. On only three occasions does Professor Arseniev (the only Orthodox on the commission) feel it necessary to add a note of protest to the agreed statements.

We heartily recommend this volume to the close study of those interested in the work of the Ecumenical Movement.

DOM BEDE WINSLOW.

*Jésuites et Chouéirites.* Par le R. P. Timothée Jock. (From the Author, 445 Broad Street, Central Falls, R.I., U.S.A., or Geuthner, rue Vavin 12, Paris). frs. 75.

In 1730, only six years after the election of a Catholic, Cyril VI Tanas, to the Melkite patriarchate of Antioch, there began an affair which convulsed the Catholic Melkite church and occupied the attention of Rome for sixteen years. The controversy was between the Melkite monks of the congregation of Shuwair and certain Jesuit fathers at Antura, and concerned a newly founded convent of Melkite nuns at Zuk Mikail in the Lebanon. Were they to be a Melkite community under the Shuwairite abbot general or a Latin convent for orientals of all nations or under Maronite jurisdiction? (Father Peter Fromage, S.J., seems to have been aiming at something like the Mariamette congregation which came into being under Jesuit auspices in the Lebanon 120 years later).

The business became extraordinarily complex and ramified; at length in 1743 Pope Benedict XIV declared that the community was to be Byzantine, under the spiritual direction of the Shuwairite monks and the jurisdiction of the Melkite metropolitan of Beirut. Even then it dragged on for another three years because (as has so often happened in Eastern ecclesiastical history) the local representatives of Rome failed to carry out fully and *ex animo* what the Holy See had ordered.

All this happened a long time ago, but there were important principles involved which still raise practical problems from time to time, and Father Timothy Jock, himself a Melkite priest, has done well to write a full account of the affair. It is really too full—839 pages—and would be much improved by compression, for the 203 documents reproduced *in extenso* contain a deal of “vain repetition.” But it is a remarkable and valuable piece of careful research, for which every serious student of oriental church history and actuality must be very grateful to Father Timothy. It is a pity, however, that his

comments are sometimes unnecessarily bitter: no such comments are required to enforce the lesson against latinization which is implicit and explicit in the whole story—and in the decision of the Holy See.

The ten nuns of the convent that had so stormy a beginning are now represented by some 50 religious at Zuk Mikail and its daughter house at Mar Siman.

D.D.A.

*God, Man and the Church.* By Vladimir Soloviev. Translated by Donald Attwater. (James Clarke & Co., Ltd., London). pp. 192. 5s.

In a recent book on the Liturgy entitled *The Year of Our Lord* we read: "But man sinned; and his crime brought chaos into creation. Then he was redeemed, and with him the redemption of all creation has begun. He is destined to lead the earth to final redemption, for he it was who was its master in the beginning" (p. 243). This quotation may well serve as a summary of what Soloviev had called *The Spiritual Foundations of Life*.

We welcome this book as perhaps the best manual of theology for the present-day man in the street. This does not mean that it is not meant for clerics; it is, for it is especially suitable to the present-day mind. It is both much wider and at the same time much deeper in its viewpoint than the ordinary text books or popular manuals. It has all the vitality of the Russian Orthodox approach to Christianity (which appeals to many modern people), but it is more controlled and ordered than most Russian thought on the subject. Both for the Catholic striving to know his religion and for the non-Christian seeking to know Christianity, the setting forth of the divine humanity, considered in the personal God-man Jesus Christ, and in the social and universal Man-God which Jesus Christ has made possible, is of the utmost importance in an age reacting against individualism.

The consideration of nature, death, sin, law and grace confronts man with the importance of his personal salvation, whereas the chapters on Christianity, the Church, the Christian State and Christian Society sets forth the means of our collective salvation as members of mankind.

The chapters on *Prayer and Sacrifice and Alms-Deeds* are a searching test of our own spiritual life.

The following quotations concerning Christianity and the Church will give some idea of Soloviev's thought:—

"This disordered and irrational existence is a false state of affairs, transitory and misleading: the primacy of existence does not belong to parts in isolation but to the

*whole.* The primordial absolute, the fountain-head of all being, is the *complete integrality* of all that is, namely God. This integrality is self-subsistent in the unchangeable quietude of eternity ; it reveals itself in the unitive meaning of the world, which meaning is a direct expression, the Word (*λόγος*), of the Godhead ; it is God, God revealing himself and moving in the world . . . ”

“ The Incarnation is certainly not possible if God is conceived as an isolated being living somewhere outside the world and apart from men. From this point of view (deism) the incarnation of the Godhead would be in direct contradiction with the logical law of identity, a thing in itself absolutely impossible. It is equally impossible from the point of view of pantheism, which regards God as the general substance of all the phenomena ; herein the Incarnation would be in opposition to the axiomatic truth that the whole cannot be equal to one of its parts, God could no more become man than the ocean could be a drop of itself and still remain the ocean. Need we think of God in either of the above two ways ? Not at all. The notion of God as a perfect (absolute) being who unites all things avoids both these one-sided definitions and opens the way to a third, according to which the world displays an assemblage of limitations, is outside of God, is confined within material bounds, yet is essentially linked to God by its inner life of soul. *Each* being who affirms himself *as such* and is *outside* of God suffers under such limitation and aspires at the same time to be *all*, in other words, towards close union with God. In like manner God, being in Himself transcendent (outside the world), at the same time *manifests himself* as an active creative force *in relation to* the world : he wills to give to the world-soul the fullness of existence in the form of universal unity towards which she aspires and to unite himself with the individual soul that the living image of the Godhead may be born therein ” (pp. 98, 116, 117).

Of the Church he says :—

“ In considering the Church as the Mystical Body of Christ (not metaphorically but in the sense of a metaphysical truth), it must not be forgotten that it necessarily grows and develops and consequently undergoes modification as it moves towards perfection, and it is not yet his glorified and completely divinized body. The Church on earth at present corresponds to our Lord’s earthly body before his resurrection, a body which, while it from time to time displayed miraculous qualities (and such

qualities inhere also in the Church here and now), was yet subject to all the infirmities and sufferings of human flesh which Christ took upon himself" (p. 137).

This book was written in 1882-84 while Soloviev was still a member of the Orthodox Church, yet it not only presents for the Catholic a help to know the faith that is in him, but also an attempt to find a synthesis between the Western and Eastern conceptions of the Church. It may as well serve as a presentation (as we have already said) of Christianity to both fascist and communist as this last quotation will show :—

"Human society is not a mechanical collection of individuals; it is an autonomous whole, with its own life and organization, into which it is the vocation of Christianity to introduce the principle of moral solidarity or true brotherhood" (p. 187).

May Catholics learn the lesson!

B.W.

*The Music for the Liturgy of St. John Chrysostom according to the Russian Usage* (Desclée & Cie., Tournai).

This is a very welcome book. It is divided into three parts: the fixed parts of the Liturgy, the special music to be used when a bishop celebrates at the service for the dead and for Paschal Time, and lastly the more solemn music for certain prayers. Side by side with the Slavonic text is to be found its transcription into English characters. Perhaps a new addition will add an English or French translation.

#### BOOKS RECEIVED.

S.P.C.K., London: *The Saints of Egypt*; De Lacy O'Leary, D.D.

W. Heffer & Sons, Ltd., Cambridge: *Woodbrooke Studies*, Vol. VII (Early Christian Mystics).

Oxford University Press: *Church and Learning in the Byzantine Empire*; J. M. Hussey.

Lateranum (nova series) Roma; *Theophanes Nicaenus, Sermo in sanctissimam Deiparam*; M. Jugie, A.A.

William Heinemann, Ltd., London: *God in Patristic Thought*; G. L. Prestige, D.D.

